Historical narrative, Itasca State Park, Minnesota

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In the spring of 1891 the legislature of the State of Minnesota, exercising rare wisdom and foresight, carved out of the great lumber regions at the headwaters of the Mississippi a block of virgin pine to be forever preserved for posterity. Upon receiving the approval of Governor William A. Merriam on April 20, 1891, this area came into being as Itasca State Park--at least on paper.

The story behind the area now designated as Itasca State Park is as important to the history of America as it is fascinating to the reader of that history. For more than three hundred years the mystery of the great Mississippi River--Father of Waters--excited the imagination of the writer and the fervor of the explorer. And now that the mystery has long been cleared away, the story of the explorations and discoveries pursuant thereto, with their privations and hardships, their tragedy and humor, remains as a monument to its chief characters.

For many years the Mississippi River existed mainly in myth and fable, though some facts of its course were known within half a century after the first voyage of Columbus. Many are the applicants for the honor of having first set eyes upon the mighty stream; each has his following, each his opposition. It is quite likely that the river was actually first seen at its embouchure by the watch of some Spanish

vessel coasting the northern Gulf early in the sixteenth century. Some historians have given credit for such a voyage to Americus Vespucius in 1497, but the theory has not received very general acceptance. Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda (1519) and Panfilo de Narvaes (1528) have been given their share of credit for discovering the Mississippi. But if, to be accepted, discovery must be attended by substantially undisputed fact, we must reserve the honor to a later adventurer.

Hernando de Soto had gained both fame and fortune in Peru as a companion of Pizzaro. As governor of Cuba he obtained a patent to extensive lands on the North American Continent, and in 1539 proceeded to explore his new holdings. Crossing to Florida with a force of some 600 to 900 men and 200 horses, he proceed northward and westward toward the Mississippi. After two years of wanderings he reached the banks of the great river and crossed into Arkansas. Disappointed in his search for gold, he returned to the river in April, 1542 and camped below the mouth of the Arkansas. On May 21, discouraged and worn out from his wanderings, he died, leaving his followers under the leadership of Luys Moscoso. The band then tried its fortunes to the southwest and again returned to the Arkansas disappointed and depleted in number. Their sole remaining desire was to get out of the fruitless country as quickly as possible. They

descended the Mississippi in seven hastily built brigantines and finally reached Tampico on September 10, 1543, completing the first authentic discovery of the Mississippi River and its valley.[1]

One may well wonder that Spain, with such an early start, did not thereafter dominate the history of the Mississippi Valley. But the Spanish were not by nature colonizers or explorers, and only pursued their journeys in hopes of finding wealth in the form of gold and other riches. The disappointments of the early adventurers may have discouraged further exploration by fellow-countrymen, for they did nothing more to unlock the mystery of the great river. That task remained for the energies of the French, coming in by way of the St. Lawrence Valley more than a century after the voyage of De Soto and his followers.

The westward movement of the French was begun by Cartier, who travelled to the present site of Montreal in 1535. His work was continued and extended by Champlain, Jean Nicolet, and others, but it was not until the winter of 1659-60 that white men entered the region within the present boundaries of the state of Minnesota. At this time appear two names of importance to Minnesota history. Medard Chouart, better known by his nickname, Sieur des Groseilliers

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1. The story of De Soto is told in many histories such as James K. Hosmer, A Short History of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 28-30; J. V. Brower, The Mississippi River and Its Source, pp. 24-28.

(Grozayyay), and his brother-in-law, Pierre d'Esprit, the Sieur Radisson, visited with the Spirit Lake Sioux near Mille Lacs and Knife lakes. By some they have been given credit for first seeing the upper Mississippi and describing it as a "deep, wide, and beautiful river, comparable in its grandeur to the St. Lawrence."[2] Other historians such as J. V. Brower and William W. Folwell dissent from this view.[3] Says Folwell, "The present state of the inquiry does not warrant the ascription to Groseillers and Radisson of the discovery of the Mississippi."[4]

For more than a generation rumors of a great river-the natives called it "Mechassipi" or "Micissipi"-had been rife among the French.[5] Confirmation of that rumor came from the journeys of Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette. Other Frenchmen had preceded Marquette and Jolliet to the region at the head of the Great Lakes, among them Father Claude Allouez, who had a mission at LaPointe, Wisconsin, and Nicolas Perrot, who was sent out by the intendant of New France, Jean Baptiste Talon. Talon was anxious to learn the truth about the great river. He selected

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2. Neill, Concise History of Minnesota, 5

3. J. V. Brower, Itasca State Park, 43

4. W. W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 1:13

5. The first known written mention of the name Mississippi was made by Father Nicolas Freytas, spelling it "Mischipi". Brower, Itasca State Park, 44

Jolliet and Marquette for his purpose. Under the sponsorship of Governor Frontenac, these two men and five voyageurs left Mackinac on May 17, 1673.

After a month of travel they paddled down the Wisconsin River and reached the goal of their quest on June 17.[6] Within the next month they went down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas, in the region where De Soto had died. Satisfied that the Mississippi could empty nowhere but into the Gulf of Mexico, they returned upstream to the Illinois completing the discovery of two-thirds the length of the river, from the mouth of the Wisconsin to the Gulf.

The report of Jolliet encouraged Frontenac to send further expeditions with the aims of exploration and establishing a fur trade. One of the men sent out was Daniel Greysolon, Sieur du Luth, who claimed land for France at the Izatys (Issati or Isanti) Sioux village at Mille Lacs.[7] The ceremony was repeated at several localities.

After an absence of several years, Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, reappeared on the exploratory scene in 1678. On the authority of the King and Governor Frontenac he departed from New France to explore the unknown west. In 1680 he was encamped on the Illinois River, preparatory

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6. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 19

7. Ibid., 25

to exploring the Mississippi both to the north and to the south. The responsibility for the northern expedition he entrusted to Michael Accault, an experienced voyageur. As companions of Accault were Antoine Aguelle, called the Picard du Gay, and Father Louis Hennepin.

These three, on February 29, 1680, departed from Fort Crevecoeur in a canoe loaded with goods to trade with the Nadouessioux.[8] After proceeding up the Mississippi for some distance they taken captive by a roving Sioux war party from Mille Lacs. After a voyage of nineteen days they disembarked at a point generally supposed to be at the mouth of Phalen Creek in the present city of St. Paul. From that point they proceeded overland to the chief village at Mille Lacs. In July Hennepin and Aguelle returned to the Mississippi by way of the Rum River, Accault evidently preferring to stay with the Sioux.

A short distance below the mouth of the Rum they came upon a great cataract which Hennepin named after his patron saint, Anthony of Padua. After leaving the falls Hennepin and Aguelle rejoined the Sioux hunting party, with whom was Accault. The hunt completed, they returned northward and were met on July 25, 1680 by Du Luth, who had hurried to meet them on hearing of their presence in the region. The entire party then returned to the Izatys village, and in September the Frenchmen left for Canada without rejoining La Salle.

8. Spiteful Chippewa nickname for the Dakotas, later colloquialized to "Sioux" by the white men.

9. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 29

Two years passed before La Salle completed preparations to proceed down the Mississippi. The interval was spent in trips to Montreal and in consolidating his position on the Illinois. Finally in January of 1682 he left Fort Crevecoeur in canoes and early in April reached the Gulf. On one of the islands in the mouth of the river he erected a wooden column bearing the French arms and the inscription, "Louis le Grand, Roy de France et de Navarre, regne le 9e Avril 1682".[11] Two years later La Salle tried a Colonizing expedition by sea which missed the mouth of the river and culminated in the murder of its leader.

Other Frenchmen of lesser importance followed Hennepin and La Salle in the upper Mississippi region. The chief inducements to exploration had by now become the fur trade and its accompanying traffic in liquor and merchandise with the Indians. In the spring of 1686 we again meet Perrot, this time as a trader at his post on Lake Pepin. Pierre le Sueur was with Perrot at Fort St. Antoine in 1689 when he proclaimed the French king's sovereignty over the region. Le Sueur later explored part of the Minnesota Valley and went up the Mississippi as far as Sandy Lake.

The death of Frontenac in 1698 marked the end of serious exploratory attempts by the French. There were,

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11. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 33.

however, many colonizing and fur-trading ventures into the Minnesota region. The driving force of the fur trade led to the establishment of many forts and to the incidental exploration of parts of the Valley. One of the best known of the expeditions of this type was that of the Verendryes, who had a fort or post on the Rainy Lake River in 1731 and established Fort St. Charles near American Point on Lake of the Woods in the next year. Later domination of the area by the English left the furtherance of explorations in their hands, but the French remained constantly an important factor in the role of trader, guide, voyageur.

In 1763 France ceded to her ancient enemy England all of her possessions on the continent of North America east of the Mississippi River except the island on which New Orleans is situated, having first disposed of the Louisiana territory to Spain. Thenceforth the responsibility for explorations west of the Great Lakes belonged to the English. Nor were they long in accepting such responsibility. One of the earliest ventures was made by a native American, Jonathan Carver of Connecticut. In 1767 he was at the site of St. Paul and described the cave which bears his name. His expedition has probably received greater notoriety than it deserves; for it added little to knowledge of the upper Mississippi. Carver was followed by Peter Pond who had a post at Traverse des Sioux (St. Peters) in 1774.

The source of the great Mississippi River was still

enclosed in mystery and many were the theories advanced as to its location, some of them approximately correct, others wholly false. The United States came on the scene after the American Revolution. The text of the preliminary treaty of peace signed at Paris on November 30, 1782, described the international boundary north of Minnesota as the Grand Portage route to the Lake of the Woods, "thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi".[12] Actually the source of the Mississippi is some 125 miles due south of the Lake of the Woods!

Though the Minnesota territory with its lucrative fur and Indian trade legally were the property of the United States after 1783, England was not willing to so easily part with the advantages she had enjoyed there. For many years she wooed the friendship of the red men and pursued the trade in furs, ignoring the rightful owners. The Indian trade of the British shortly became very well organized by its thrifty Scotch-Canadian owners. In 1787 was born the famous Northwest Company modeled after the Hudson's Bay Company, which had been in existence 117 years. A virtual monopoly of the fur trade was aquired by the Northwest stations reaching as far west as the Yellowstone.

In 1792 Jean Baptiste Cadotte conducted a journey

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12. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, App. 12, pp. 486-502

of exploration far into central Minnesota in the interests of the Company. To get possession of the trade there a post was established at the Fond du Lac of Superior in the following year. In 1794 a post and stockade was built by Cadotte at Sandy Lake. In a few years the country was populated with nglish traders and French voyageurs. One of Northwest Company's employees who is worthy of mention is David Thompson, the surveyor. In 1798 he was dispatched on the mission of locating the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. On his return he found what is known as Turtle Lake which he beleived to be the source of the Mississippi.

The true source at Lake Itasca had in all likelihood been visited about this time by the English or French traders, for there were many in the region. If such was the case however, no records have been left definitely proving such a reasonable supposition. Among the traders in the region may be mentioned Alexander Ray, Vincent Roy, James Aird, Louis Blondeau, Alexis and Joseph Reaume, Sayer, Jean Baptiste Perrault, and many others.[13] Perrault is especially worthy of our notice, not because of unusual exploits, but because he left us a record of part of his journeys and because he was instrumental in the later work of Schoolcraft.

Perrault was born at Three Rivers in 1761 and entered the fur trade at the age of twenty-two. About 1830

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13. Names selected from the Perrault narrative.

while he was living at Mackinac, he was persuaded by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to write a narrative of his journeys. Accompanying the narrative are several maps, drawn from memory, yet supriskingly accurate. Two of these maps are of the head of Lake Superior and the St. Louis River showi ng Sandy Lake. Another depicts the Sauteux (Chippewa), St. Croix, and Mississippi rivers and the Chute de St. Antoine. Still another shows the lakes around the headwaters of the Mississippi[14] including Lac Sonsue (Leech), Lac Traverse (Bemidji), Lac Cedre Rouge (Red Cedar or Cass), Lac la Tortue (Turtle), Lac Rouge (Red Lake), and Lac Vaseu (Mud Lake). Perrault personally visited all these places and othe s in his trading journeys through the interior of Minnesota. It is not at all unlikely thathe or one of his contemporaries stumbled on Lake Itasca before the turn of the century.

In 1784 Perrault came up to Sandy Lake as clerk for Alexander Kay.[15] After Kay had been treacherously stabbed, Perrault and Harris went to Pokegama Falls, Red Cedar Lake, and Ottertail Point on Leech Lake.[16] In 1787 he was at St. Anthony Falls and traded on the Crow Wing, Elk, and Rum rivers. In 1794 he built a fort at Red Cedar Lake, the same year that Cadotte was at Red Lake and Vincent Roy was at Thief River.[17] In 1798 Mr. Sayer had been order-

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14. Spelled "Mississipi" on the map.

15. The Perrault Narrative, see Appendix 1-A

16. Ibid. Appendix 1-B

17. Ibid. Appendix 1-D

ed to relieve Cadotte at Red Lake. Due to his ill health he persuaded Perrault to take his place and he Perrault's at Red Cedar. Perrault found Cadotte wintering on the Clearwater and relieved him there. On the day after Christmas "le petit male arrived from the Lac qui chante (Singing Lake) at the head of the Riviere a L'eau Claire, and told me there Were seven lodges there. I did not give him a chance to visit mr. Letang, but I set out with him at night, accompanied by six men. We took two days to reach the Lodges."[18] The head of the Clearwater is a very few miles west of Lake Itasca. Until further evidence is forthcoming, however, the discovery of the actual source of the Mississippi by these traders can be only a matter of conjecture.

For a consideration of fifteen million dollars, including the assumption of certain French liabilities to American Citizens, Louisiana became part of the United States by a treaty of April 30, 1803. When formal delivery was made to Captain Amos Stoddard on March 10, 1804 the entire Minnesota area west of the Mississippi joined the eastern section as territory of the United States. Thereupon the area west of the Mississippi became legitimate field for United States exploration and exploitation. President Jefferson was quite an opportunist in this respect. Even

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18. Perrault, "Narrative of the Travels" in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 37:576

prior to the culmination of the purchase treaty he had urged upon Congress the action which resulted in the Lewis and Clark expedition. The exploration of the Missouri River made by this party would naturally suggest that of the main stream. Although Jefferson made no mention of such an enterprise to Congress, it need not be doubted that he embraced in his great scheme for "advancing the geograph cal knowledge of the continent" an exploration of the upper Mississippi.[19]

It is at about this time that William Morrison, who traveled through northern Minnesota from 1802 to 1826 in the service of the AY, Northwest, and American fur companies, lays circumstantial claim to having been the first white man at the source of the Mississippi. His claim depends on a letter written to his brother Allen from Berthier in 1866. Several variations of this letter, or letters, have been published. One quoted by J. V. Brower is described by him as one "among several letters written by Mr. Morrison on this subject." This letter reads, in part:

> "I note what you say concerning the source of the Mississippi. You wish to know who was the first person who went to its source. For the information of the H. Society, I will state to you all about what came to my knowledge, by which you will perceive that H. R.

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19. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 1:90

Schoolcraft is in error and that he was not the first person who made the discovery of the source of the Mississippi.

"I left the old Grand Portage, July, 1802, landed at Leech Lake in September. In October I went and wintered on one of the Crow Wing streams near its source. Our Indians were Pillagers; in 1803-04, I went and wintered at Lac La Folle. I left Leech Lake, passed by Red Cedar Lake, up river Lac Travers to the lake of that name, then up the river La Biche or Elk River, to near Lac La Biche, when we made a portage to fall into Lac La Folle. Lac La Biche is near to Lac La Folle. Lac La Biche is the source of the Great River Mississippi, which I visited in 1804, and if the late Gen. Pike did not lay it down as such when he came to Leech lake it is because he did not happen to meet me. I was at an outpost that winter...I did not trace any vestige of white men before me. In 1811-12 I wintered again at Lac La Folle near to the plains... This I expect will explain that I visited in 1804, Elk lake, and again in 1811-12."[20]

This claim to discovery has in general been accepted as authentic, but Morrison has been given little credit

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20. Brower, The Mississippi River and its Source, pp. 122-25. An earlier publication in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections is termed by Brower a "composite production". See appendix 2.

as an explorer. Says Dr. Folwell, "The claim may well be just, but the failure to make any report or record, and a silence of forty years or more, debars Morrison from credit as an exploring discoverer."[21]

By 1805 Jefferson was at last ready to send an exploring party to the upper Mississippi. Instead of personally ordering the expedition, he left that duty to General James Wilkinson, commandant at St. Louis. On July 30, 1805, Wilkinson ordered twenty-six year old First Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike of the United States Army "to proceed up the Mississippi with all possible diligence."[22] One may suspect that his chief purpose was to expel the British traders. In his brief instructions Pike was ordered to make topographical observations, to note the "population and residence" of the Indians and attempt to conciliate the warring tribes, to find suitable military post sites, and to explor the Mississippi to its source. A postscript to the letter of instructions read, "In addition to the preceding orders, you will be pleased to obtain permission from the Indians who claim the ground, for the erection of military posts and trading houses, at the mouth of the river St. Pierre,"[23]

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21. A History of Minnesota, 1:216

22. Ibid., 90

23. Early French for the Minnesota River.

the Falls of St. Anthony, and every other critical point which may fall under your observation."[24]

The enterprising young officer left St. Louis on August 9, 1805, expecting to be gone not more than four months. The exploring party consisted of "lieut. Pike, one serjeant, two corporals and seventeen privates, left their encampment near St. Louis in a keel boat, seventy feet long, provisioned for four months; in order to make a survey of the river Mississippi to its source."[25] On September 16 they reached the lower end of Lake Pepin and on the twenty-first were in camp at Pike Island in the mouth of the Minnesota. Two days later a great council was held with the Sioux under Little Crow, in which the Indians gave up tracts of land at the mouth of the St. Croix and at St. Anthony Falls for military posts. The latter tract included the site of Fort Snelling. This treaty was ratified by the Senate on April 18, 1808.

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24. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 1:91

25. An Account of a Voyage up the Mississippi River, From St. Louis to its Source; Made under the orders of the War Department, by Lieut. Pike, of the United States Army, in the years 1805 and 1806. Compiled from Mr. Pike's journals, p.1. This is an extremely rare tract. There is given no date (probably 1807), no editor, no author, no publisher, no printer, no place of publication. The Minnesota Historical Society has a copy photostated from an original in the Library of Congress. It contains a fine map of the Mississippi above St. Louis to its source showing among other things: Lieutenant Pike's block house or post near Pine Creek just below Little Falls, The Northwest Co. house at Sandy Lake, Pokegema Falls, Upper Red Cedar Lake, Leech Lake, and other lakes of the vicinity such as Ottertail and Turtle.

The Falls of St. Anthony were passed on September 23 and the party encamped near Little Falls on October 15. The next day they were overtaken by a snowstorm and Pike decided to give up attempts to reach the Crow Wing ahead of the ice. "I then informed my men that we would return to the camp and there leave some of the party and our large boats. This information was pleasing, and the attempt to reach the camp soon accomplished."[26] At this point a permanent fort was established, with a large log house and stockade.

On the evening of December 9 Pike and a few of his men, the rest staying at the fort, crossed the river and encamped above the rapids, beginning the last stages of the journey upstream. Their equipment was loaded on sledges like those used by farmers, which Pike himself was often forced to aid in pulling.[27] The mouth of the Crow Wing was passed on the date of December, the day before Christmas; and on January 6 the night was spent at the quarters of Mr. Grant at a Sandy Lake Post of the Northwest Company made twelve years before. Pike took leave of the hospitable post twelve days later and reached Leech Lake on February

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26. "Pike's Explorations in Minnesota" in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 1:310 ff. There is no author given but it was likely Fletcher Williams. It is composed of "judicious extracts from his journal".

27. An Account of a Voyage, 29.

1. "Across this lake it was twelve miles to the establishment of the North West company, which they arrived at about ten o'clock in the evening. The gates were locked, but on knocking they were admitted, and received by Mr. Hugh McGillis, with great politeness and hospitality; and, had a supper of buscuit, butter and cheese!"[28]

Pike believed Leech Lake to be the main source of the Mississippi, and was greatly elated at having reached it. On February 10 he complied with duty by raising the American flag over the fort. "The English yacht (jack) still flying at the top of the flag staff, I directed the Indians and my riflemen to shoot at it, which soon broke the iron pin to which it was fastened, and brought it to the ground."[29] On February 12 Pike and McGillis reached Red Cedar Lake thirty miles away which Pike called the "upper source of the Mississippi."[30] On the return journey Pike held councils with the Indians, inducing many of them to relinquish their British medals and flags. The fort at Little Falls was reached on March 5 and St. Louis on April 30 after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days. Thus ended the first deliberate attempt to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi.

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28. An Account of a Voyage, 39

29. Pike's Explorations in Minnesota, 328.

30. An Account of a Voyage, 41.

Knowledge of the upper stretches of the Mississippi remained at this point for several more years. The efforts of a Verendrye, a Carver, of Pike and others had given a general idea of the vast extent of this territory, but it was left for later explorers to give detailed information about the headwaters of the river. An opportunity presented itself when, in 1818, Minnesota was added to the area of Michigan Territory. General Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan, was naturally interested in the addition to his jurisdiction. The following year he suggested to Secretary of War Calhoun that an expedition with himself as commander be sent out on an exploratory tour. The authority was soon granted; the objects of the expedition being: "to obtain a more correct knowledge of the names, numbers, customs, history, condition, mode of subsistence, and disposition of the Indian tribes--to survey the topography of the country, and collect the material for an accurate map--to locate the site of a garrison at the foot of Lake Superior, and to purchase the ground--to investigate the subject of the northwestern copper mines, lead mines, and gypsum quarries, and to purchase from the Indian tribes such tracts as might be necessary to secure to the United States the ultimate advantages to be derived from them, &c. To accomplish these objects, it was proposed to attach to the expedition a topographical engineer, a physician, and a person acquainted with mineralogy."[31]

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31. Schoolcraft, H. R., Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit...in the year 1820, p. xiii.

The party of thirty-eight left Detroit on May 24, 1820, in three great birch bark canoes. In addition to Cass the company consisted of Alexander Wolcott, Indian agent at Chicago and physician to the expedition, Captain D. B. Douglass, engineer and geographer, James Doty, secretary to the expedition, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, mineralogist, and the governor's private secretary, besides soldiers, Indians, guides, and interpreters. The traders' route along the south shore of Lake Superior was followed to the site of the present city of Duluth. The company then proceeded up the St. Louis River to Sandy Lake, where they found the American Fur Company occupying the post where Pike had been entertained by the Northwest Company fifteen years before.

Part of the expedition remained in camp at Sandy Lake while the remainder left for the upper Mississippi on the morning of July 17. Four days later they reached Upper Red Cedar Lake, which Douglass renamed Cassina at Schoolcraft's suggestion. Here the outward journey was terminated, and the party retraced its path to Sandy Lake to return home by way of the Mississippi. They arrived at Michillimackinac on September 12.

Dr. Folwell states that the geographer of the expedition, Capt. Douglass, believed that Cassina (Cass) Lake was the ultimate source of the river.[32] If this is true, then it may be equally certain that he was the only member

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32. A History of Minnesota, 1:98

of the party who held such a view. Schoolcraft says that at Cass Lake the question of pursuing the river further was submitted by Cass to the company. They decided to return though they had information that the real source of the river was only sixty miles distant.[33] In Schoolcraft's journal, published the year after the return, he says of Cass Lake, "This lake is supplied by two inlets called Turtle and La Beesh (Biche) rivers, both tributary on the northwestern margin...La Beesh river is the outlet of Lake La Beesh, which lies six days journey, with a canoe, west-northwest of Cassina Lake, and has no inlets. A short distance from its shores, the water runs north into the Red River of Hudson's Bay. Its outlet has several rapids, and expands into a number of intermediate lakes, the largest of which are lakes Traverse, Ogauga, and Kiskahoo...This branch is considered the largest inlet, and preserves in the language of the voyageurs, the name of the Mississippi."[34] The map accompanying this journal shows "L. Labeish" about fifty miles northwest of Cass Lake, Lake Traverse being omitted.

James Doty, the official historian of the expedition, who remained at Sandy Lake, says in his diary under the date of "Monday, July 24, This day the Gov. and gent.

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33. Schoolcraft, Narrative of an Expedition Through the Upper Mississippi to Itasca Lake, p. 10

34. Schoolcraft, Narrative Journal of Travels, pp. 251-2

returned quite exhausted while those who remained were greatly recruited. They did not go to the extreme source of the river, only to red cedar Lake the highest navigable water at this season, and 360 miles from Sandy Lake."[35]

Another vain attempt to reach the Mississippi's source was made within the next few years, this time by a romantic Italian, Count Giacomo Constantine Beltrami. He left his native country, probably as a political refugee, and arrived at Fort St. Anthony (Snelling) on May 30, 1823. He at first expected to journey up the Minnesota River, but due to intervening circumstances was about to leave for the south, when a party under Major Stephen H. Long unexpectedly arrived.[36] The major was under orders from the war department to conduct an expedition to the Red River and down that stream to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, thence eastward along the Canadian boundary to Lake Superior. Beltrami obtained permission to accompany the expedition, which left Fort Snelling on July 7.

For reasons not altogether clear, things did not go well between Long and Beltrami; and at Pembina the latter left the expedition to plunge into the wilderness to the southeast, accompanied only by a bois brule and two Chippewa

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35. "Papers of James Duane Doty, Official Journal, 1820", in Wisconsin Historical Collections, 13:185

36. Hill, Alfred J., "Constantine Beltrami" in the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 2:185

who soon deserted him. After many days of hardship and privation he stumbled onto a little lake in what is now Beltrami County, which he thought was the source of the Mississippi as well as of the Red River. This lake he perceived to have no outlet, but thought the waters to filtrate through the soil "towards its south-western extremity: and those sources are the actual sources of the Mississippi!...I have called the lake, accordingly, Lake Julia; and the sources of the two rivers, the Julian sources of the Bloody (Red) river and the Julian sources of the Mississippi..."[37] It has since been demonstrated, however, that Lake Julia, situated just north of the Turtle Lake noted by David Thompson in 1798, actually has an outlet into Lake Puposky and is therefore part of the Red River drainage system.[38]

Believing he had now accomplished the object of his venture, Beltrami proceeded to Cass Lake and down the Mississippi to Fort Snelling which he reached on September 15. It is interesting to note that Beltrami was aware, like Schoolcraft, of the Itascan source of the Mississippi, but considered it secondary to his discovery. He designated

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37. Beltrami, G. C., A Pilgrimage in Europe and America, 2:412

38. This is shown in any good plat of Beltrami County such as found in Plat Book, State of Minnesota, E. W. Nixon and Company, Rockford, Illinois, 1916

it "Doe L." on the map illustrating his journeys and referred to it as "another lake, which the Indians call 'Moscosaguaiguon',or Bitch lake,[39] which receives no tributary stream, and seems to draw its waters from the bosom of the earth. It is here, in my opinion, that we shall fix the western sources of the Mississippi."[40]

Though the discovery of the sources of the Mississippi was the favorite goal of a number of explorers up to and including Beltrami, the expedition that finally did receive the credit for the discovery of the true source was not sent out for that purpose at all. Its leader, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, had, however, for some time entertained hopes of reaching the Lac La Biche he had heard of while a member of the Cass expedition. His chance came when he was appointed to the Indian service and Governor Cass, now Secretary of War, charged him with an expedition to the upper reaches of the Mississippi. One of the members of the expedition says, "The reason for the orders is founded on the fact that since the war of 1812, the British traders were in the habit of decoying the chiefs and Braves to their trading posts every summer and making them large

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39. This Indian name has been spelled various ways by different writers, more commonly "Omushkos Sagaiigun". The French version is "La Biche", not "Bitch".

40. Beltrami, A Pilgrimage to Europe and America, 2:434

presents in goods, ammunition, English flags and medals; and thus for twenty years, held as allies in case of another war."[41]

Schoolcraft's instructions were to establish peace among the Sioux and the Chippewa, to counteract the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, to vaccinate as many of the Indians as possible, and to gather information on a number of subjects. Nowhere was reference made to a search for the source of the Mississippi, but there is ample evidence that this was the chief object insofar as Schoolcraft was concerned. Nor was he entirely in ignorance as to where to search. As noted before, he had become aware of the existence and general location of Elk Lake or Lac La Biche while at Cass Lake in 1820. Also it will be rembered that he was familiar with the journeys of Jean Baptiste Perrault, for it was at his insistence that Perrault compiled his journal. "Among Schoolcraft's papers in Washington is a crude little map, drawn at Schoolcraft's request by Perrault just before Schoolcraft made his second trip. It shows the region of the upper Mississippi, including Lake Bemidji (then called Lake Travers) and the Mississippi flowing into it from the west... it seems extremely likely that the explorer learned from the Canadian where the true source of the river might be looked

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41. Boutwell, William Thurston, Reminiscences (Mss. in possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, no pages numbers.)

for."[42]

The expedition left Sault St. Marie in June, 1832. It consisted of thirty-five souls including Schoolcraft as commander, Dr. Houghton to vaccinate the Indians, George Johnson as interpreter, the Reverend William T. Boutwell, a Presbyterian minister, and a military escort under Lieutenant James Allen, as well as the usual Indians and voyageurs.[43] The party proceeded to Cass Lake by a route nearly identical to that used twelve years before. In this vicinity Dr. Houghton had no difficulty in vaccinating more than 2000 Indians. On July 11 they reached Lake Bemidji and the lake adjacent to it which Schoolcraft named for Washington Irving. A short distance above this lake there was a fork in the main channel of the river, and Schoolcraft's Indian guide, Ozawindib or Yellowhead, advised him to take the smaller or south-eastern fork as being the shorter. This river was ascended to Usaw-way (Ossoway or Perch) Lake where a portage to the westward was begun at about eleven o'clock on the morning of July 13.

This portage, which is about six miles in length, followed a very poor trail over cedar ridges, through swamps, and over one small lake. "The desire of reaching the actual sources of a stream so celebrated as the Mississippi," says Schoolcraft, "a stream which LaSalle had reached the mouth of, a century and a half (lacking a year) before, was per-

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42. Mute, Grace Lee, "A Minnesota Centenary" in St. Paul magazine, June, 1932, p. 9

43. Allen, James A., Expedition to Northwest Indians, 56

haps predominant; and we followed our guide down the sides of the last elevation, with the expectation of momentarily reaching the goal of our journey. What had long been sought, at last appeared suddenly. On turning out of a thicket, into a small woody opening, the cheering sight of a transparent body of water burst upon our view. It was Itasca Lake--the source of the Mississippi."[44]

The exhuberence which the entire party felt on reaching the goal of their journey may well be imagined. Schoolcraft describes his own reaction thus: "Other men may have achoived other triumphs. Niagra was doubtless hailed with triumph when first seen by the French. The mouth of the Mississippi was pointed out, in pride, by Narvaez; and its channel by DeSoto's party; but ours was a pleasure, heightened by the toil of reaching the actual source of a stream as celebrated as the Mississippi."[45]

The canoes were immediately launched upon the clear waters of the lake and the party paddled northward to a little island upon which they landed. "The men were directed to fell a few trees at the head of the island, thereby creating an area, for the purpose of erecting a flagstaff. This was braced by forked sticks, and a small flag hoisted to its place...we embarked upon our descent. The flag which we

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44. Schoolcraft, Narrative of an Expedition, 56

45. Schoolcraft, "Memoir on the History and Physical Geography of Minnesota" in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 6:83

erected continued to be in sight for a time, and was finally shut from our view by a curve of the lake."[46] This island was named "Schoolcraft Island" at the suggestion of Lieut. Allen.[47]

But a few hours were spent at Lake Itasca, none of the party bothering to examine it thoroughly. They did not enter the southwest arm but relied for a description of it on the words of Ozawindib who "says there is a little creek, too small for even our little canoes to ascend, emptying into the south bay of the lake, and having its source in a chain of high hills which we could not see..."[48] Of their stay at the lake Dr. Houghton says, "We arrived at the lake about one o'clock P. M. and having coasted through it & made some examinations our sole object, of visiting Mississippi was accomplished and at half after four we commenced descending the outlet of the lake..."[49] Descent was made by way of the main fork, and the party encamped that night about thirty-two miles below Itasca Lake. A shortcut was made through Leech Lake and Fort Snelling was reached late in July. Thus was the true source of the Mississippi reached just 291 years after DeSoto chanced across its

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46. Schoolcraft, Narrative of an Expedition, 65-66
47. Allen, Expedition to Northwest Indians, 44
48. Ibid., 44
49. Houghton, Dr. Douglass, Diary, June 23, August 26, 1832, 20

channel in 1541.

One may wonder why the source of the river remained a mystery for such a long period of time. Schoolcraft himself furnishes part of the answer. "Its origin in the remote and unfrequented area of the country between Leech Lake and Red River, ...throws both forks of this stream out of the usual route of the fur trade, and furnishes, perhaps the best reason why its actual sources have remained so long enveloped in obscurtiy."[50] The maps which accompany the narratives written later by Schoolcraft and by Allen show that the party reached the east arm of Lake Itasca about one-fourth to one-half mile above the site of Douglas Lodge on the east bank.

Although several members of the Schoolcraft party, including Lieutenant Allen, Dr. Houghton, and Reverend Boutwell, kept daily diaries or journals of the expedition, nowhere except in the writings of Schoolcraft was the name "Itasca" mentioned. Even he made no attempt to explain its origin or meaning; consequently speculation ran rife for many years. In a revised edition of the Schoolcraft narrative, which he published in 1855, there was mention made of the name which was thought to give an inkling as to its origin: "I inquired of Ozawindib the Indian name of this lake; he replied Omushkos, which is the Chippewa name of the Elk. (The Canadian French call this animal la Biche,

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50. Schoolcraft, Narrative of an Expedition, 69

from Biche, a hind.) Having previously got an inkling of some of the mythological and necromatic notions of the origin and mutations of the country, which permitted the use of a female name for it, I denominated it Itasca."[51] This story seemed to agree well with a supposed Indian legend, published by Mrs. Mary Eastman in 1853, in which Lake Itasca was created by the tears of an Indian maiden of that name after she had been carried off by the lord of the nether world, Chebiabo.[52]

Elsewhere Schoolcraft states that the name was derived from the Ojibway words "Ia", to be, "to tosh", a woman's breast, implying origin, and "Ka", a terminal sub inflection, the whole signifying "a fount".[53] Other writers have attempted to find the origin of the name in the Siouxan language. There were still others who asserted that the name was a composite production from Latin.[54] This belief was substantiated by a letter from Reverend Boutwell to Alfred J. Hill, in which he says, "One morning as we were coasting L(ake) Sup(erior) Mr. S. said to me, I would like

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51. Schoolcraft, Summary Narrative, 245

52. Eastman, Eastman's Aboriginal Portfolio, Phila., 1853

53. Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 5:624

54. The first known mention of this theory is found in Neill, E. D., History of Minnesota, 407, n. (1858) Unfortunately, Mr. Neill does not state where he got his information.

to give a name to Elk Lake that will be significant and expressive, as the head or true source of the Mississi(ppi). Can you give me any word in Latin or Greek that will convey the idea. I replied...the nearest I can come to it is Veritas Caput--or if you prefer the noun Veritas...In less than five minutes he replied I have got the thing--handing me a slip of paper on which was the word Itasca."[55] This report was further confirmed by a personal interview with Boutwell a short time before his death by J. V. Brower.[56]

Though the weight of evidence seemed to be on the side of the Boutwell explanation, many still adhered to the other versions. Speculation has continued right up to the present year, having at last been set at rest upon the discovery of early letters from the pen of Schoolcraft himself, written at his arrival at Fort Snelling. These letters absolutely confirm the "ver/itas ca/put" explanation.[57]

The next visit to the source of the Mississippi was made by a private expedition in 1856. It was conducted by a distinguished French scientist, Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, who had come to this country because of financial

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55. This letter to A. J. Hill, May 13, 1872, is found in Blegen, Theodore, "That Name Itasca" in Minnesota History, 13:167-68. It was also reprinted with some changes in the St. Paul Daily Pioneer, June 16, 1872.

56. Brower, The Mississippi River, 144-48, n. 1.

57. Peterson, William J., "Veritas Caput: Itasca" in Minnesota History, 18:2:100. See appendix 3.

reverses at home. At Fort Snelling he was the always welcome guest of Major Taliaferro and Henry Hastings Sibley, who aided him in every possible way. On July 26, 1836, he and a Frenchman, Desire Fronchet, departed from the fort and proceeded to Leech Lake via the Mississippi, Gull, Pine, and Little Boy rivers. There he added to his retinue a Chippewa known as Kegwedzisseg (Gaygwedosay) and a half-breed, Frances Brunet, whom Nicollet describes as a giant of great strength but full of the milk of human kindness, and a good natural geographer.[58]

Guided by Gaygwedosay the party proceeded by a series of portages to the southeast or Plantagenean fork of the Mississippi at Osseway Lake, "where we found a circular camp used four years previously by Mr. Schoolcraft."[59] They then went to Itasca Lake by the same six-mile portage used by Schoolcraft, reaching the lake at about the same point. They pitched their camp on Schoolcraft Island. Nicollet was prepared to make a more leisurely and more thorough examination than had his predecessor. "The staff, at the top of which that gentleman informed us he had raised the American flag, had been cut down by the Indians. I made use of what remained of it to fix upon it my artificial horizon, and immediately proceeded to take astronomical ob-

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58. Nicollet, Joseph N., Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi, 53

59. Ibid., 56

servations, and take up my exploration of the sources of the Mississippi."[60]

Nicollet spent three days and nights at the lake, taking barometrical observations, measuring altitudes, and fixing geographic positions. He informs that "of the five creeks which empty into Itasca lake...one empties into the east bay of the lake; the four others into the west bay. I visited the whole of them; and among the latter there is one remarkable above the others, inasmuch as its course is longer, and its waters more abundant...the creek is truly the infant Mississippi."[61] This was the creek which today bears the name of Nicollet.

Nicollet gave full credit to Schoolcraft and Allen for the discovery of the lake, and claimed for himself only the merit of presenting more detailed geographic knowledge. He was, moreover, a pioneer in the use of barometric instruments to determine altitude. By this means he fixed the level of Itasca Lake at 1575 feet, a figure which later geographers have reduced but slightly more than one hundred feet.

Returning to Fort Snelling on September 27, Nicollet spent the winter with Taliaferro and Sibley. He later made a report to Congress, since published, of this

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60. Nicollet, Report, 57

61. Ibid., 58

and other expeditions. The map accompanying this report has been an important contribution to the geography of Minnesota and the northwest. Nicollet's untimely death in 1843, before completion of his work, prevented a more detailed report of his journey being made. Undoubtedly such a report would have had great value.

Following the scientific expeditions of Schoolcraft and Nicollet, and prior to the establishment of Itasca State Park in 1891, several other adventurers and explorers visited the region. Ten years after the Nicollet explorations came Charles Lanman on a pleasure tour. He was followed in 1849 by Reverend Frederick Ayers and son of Little Falls, Minnesota. William Bungo, a trader of the White Earth region, visited the lake in 1865, and described himself as the first white man to visit Elk Lake, a highly ambiguous statement inasmuch as the gentleman was of Negroid extraction.[62] In 1872 Mr. Julius Chambers of the New York Herald, in quest of health and recreation, decided to spend his vacation on the Mississippi. He was equipped with a few scientific instruments for measuring altitude, latitude, etc. He started his trip at Itasca Lake. While exploring the southwest arm of the lake he chanced upon a little stream, now known as Chamber's Creek, and followed it to Elk Lake, which he christened "Dolly Vardon" after his canoe. From Itasca Lake he

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62. Coues, Elliot, The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, Long note following p. 526.

canoed the entire length of the Mississippi.[65]

In 1874 a party of surveyors under Edwin S. Hall made a government survey of the entire Itasca basin. In pursuance of their duties they ran all section and township lines and meandered all lakes of above forty acres in area, including lakes Itasca and Elk. The field book and plats of this survey may be seen today in the office of the state treasurer in the capitol at St. Paul.

The "Rob Roy" expedition of the Louisville Courier Journal visited Elk and Itasca lakes in 1879 under the leadership of A. H. Siegfried. The census of 1880 brought O. E. Carrison to the region as government enumerator. W. E. Neal of Minneapolis was a visitor in 1880 and again in 1881. In the latter year the Reverend J. A. Gilfillan preached the first sermon in the region at the foot of Morisson Hill between Elk Lake and Lake Itasca. His congregation consisted of one Chippewa Indian, Southern Ground, and one Massachusetts savant, Professor Cooke. Also in 1881 came the first visit of the notorious Captain Willard Glazier.

The exploits of the last-named gentleman are worthy of notice, if for no other reason, because out of the controversy which they fomented grew the first embryonic demands and plans for Itasca State Park. In company with his brother George and Mr. Barrett Channing Paine, Captain

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65. Chambers, Julius, The Mississippi River and its Wonderful Valley

Glazier proceeded to Itasca Lake in the summer of 1881. Brainerd was reached by rail, and the party proceeded to Itasca Lake by way of Leech Lake, guided by an Indian, Che-no-wa-ge-sic, who drew maps of the headwaters. On the evening of July 21 they camped at Schoolcraft Island, and in the morning departed immediately for Elk Lake. This lake they proclaimed as the true source of the Mississippi, renamed it Lake Glazier and proceeded back down the Mississippi, camping that night about ten miles below Itasca Lake.

Returning to New York, Captain Glazier published to the world the results of the expedition by media of books, addresses, and communications to historical and geographical societies. In the face of previous exploration and ample contradictory evidence, Glazier announced his venture as an original discovery of the Mississippi's source, took liberties with the geographical and cartographical sciences, and heralded himself as an explorer and discoverer fit to be ranked with DeSoto, LaSalle, and others of their stamp. Many reputable societies and map agencies gave full credit to Glazier's claims. Soon maps began to appear listing "Lake Glazier" as the source of the Mississippi, and grade school histories placed Glazier's name in the ranks of the explorers.

The audacity of Glazier's claims was not, however, to go long unchallenged. A correspondent of the magazine

Science, Mr. Russell Hinman, was one of the first to take issue with the captain as he showed some remarkable parallels between the writings of Glazier and Schoolcraft.[64] It became quite evident that, regardless of the merit of his other discoveries, Glazier had most certainly found a copy of Schoolcraft's Narrative of an Expedition, from which he appropriated copious paragraphs, palming them off as his own.[65]

These first revelations led to further investigations of the captain and his wonderful story. The chief party to the investigations was Henry Draper Harrower of the firm of Ivison, Blakeman, and Taylor, publishers of Science. Harrower sponsored an expedition under the leadership of Hopewell Clarke which spent five days in the Itasca basin in 1896. It is needless to here review the course of the ensuing controversy. Suffice it to say that in general the findings of Harrower and Clarke disproved the claims of Glazier as to the original discovery, and in addition revealed several new facts about the Itasca basin. These investigations, followed by those of James H. Baker and J. V. Brower, added a colorful new chapter to the history of the Itasca region.

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64. Hinman, Russell in Science, 8:184:143

65. For a good discussion fo Glazier's plagiarism see Brower, The Mississippi River and its Source, 200 ff., ml. or Harrower in Educational Reporter, Extra, New York, 1896

It was definitely proved that the "Lake Glazier" of 1881 was one and the same as the Elk Lake of the government survey of 1875. The name had been certified and applied to the official charts in 1876 by the surveyor-general of Minnesota, James H. Baker.[66] Undoubtedly Elk Lake had been visited by Nicollet in 1836, as he records that he visited all five feeders of Lake Itasca, and could hardly have missed a lake only 500 feet away.[67] Nicollet apparently thought it of minor importance as a feeder of the larger lake. "Lake Glazier" was found to be the same lake named "Dolly Varden" by Chambers in 1872 and "Lake Breck" by Gilfillan in 1881, a short time prior to Glazier's visit.[68] Both Siegfried and Garrison also visited the lake on their stays in the region prior to the arrival of Glazier.

These revelations would seem to be sufficient to deprive Glazier of the honor of being an original discoverer. Nor does it appear that he was the first to herald Elk Lake as the true source of the Mississippi in place of Nicollet's

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66. The Indian name was "Gabukgumag" or "Pokegumag Sagaiigun", more commonly called "Pokegama", and interpreted by Gilfillan as "the water which juts off from another water as a thumb from a hand". Upham, Warren, Minnesota Geographic Names, 127. Glazier falsely interpreted this name as "the place where the waters gather". Headwaters of the Mississippi, 415.

67. The map illustrating Nicollet's report shows no lake corresponding to Elk Lake; but another of his maps, found among his papers in the office of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army at Washington, shows the lake in detail, even to its feeders. Harrower, Educational Reporter, Extra, 19.

68. These visits are fully authenticated by letters and maps. See Appendix 4-d.

"Infant Mississippi". Chambers proclaimed Elk Lake the real source in 1872 in the articles he wrote to his newspaper.[69] There is some evidence that members of the Hall surveying party held the same view. Jim Wood of St. Cloud, who claimed to be a member of that paty, visited the historical pegeant at the headwaters in the summer of 1932 and told of finding Elk Lake in 1875. They could not find the outlet, as it was overgrown with weeds, but they managed to locate it by putting some wood in the water of Elk Lake and finding it later in Itasca Lake where it had been carried by the current. Mr. Wood still held to the belief that Elk Lake was the true source.[70] In 1880 C. M. Terry said in an official publication, "It is rather a refinement of exactness to call Elk Lake, as some explorers have, the ultimate source of the Mississippi."[71] The findings of Clarke agreed conclusively with those of Nicollet as to the true source of the stream,[72] and discredited Glazier as anything but a brazen plagiarizer.[73]

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69. New York Herald, July 6, 1872, p. 8

70. Park Rapids Enterprise, August 18, 1932, p. 1. The field book of the Hall Survey, found in the state treasurer's office, Minnesota State Capitol, does not give a Jim Wood as a member of the crew.

71. Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, Ninth Annual Report, 321

72. The Clarke party erected a commemorative post on Morrison Hill, in view from both lakes, which read, "To the memory of J. N. Nicollet, who discovered the source of the Mississippi River, August 29, 1836." One of the Clarke maps shows a trail 520 feet long running between the lakes on the west side of Chamber's Creek. Science, 8:203:606

73. At points Glazier did not even plagiarize with accuracy. At one time, while appropriating from Schoolcraft,

Glazier, not to be subdued, still pressed his claims for recognition. The boldness of his claims aroused the interest of the well known archaeologist and historian, Jacob Vradenburg Brower. In 1888 this gentleman spent a month making a study of the topography of the Itasca Basin. In 1889, on the basis of this preliminary study, the Minnesota Historical Society commissioned Brower to make a "thorough examination" of the entire Itasca region. He devoted fifty-eight days of the summer of that year to the work, which confirmed the studies made by Nicollet and Clarke and by himself the previous year. One of the new revelations of this study was the discovery that DeSoto Lake is a part of the watershed which drains into Nicollet Creek and thence into Itasca Lake. These disclosures led to a public denunciation of Glazier by the Minnesota Historical Society, and the passing of a law forbidding the use of any name for the lake excepting "Elk".[74]

Glazier returned to the lake once more in 1891 to renew his claims, but the wind was gone from his sails. Though he has by now been all but forgotten, there are still many who believe that Elk Lake, rather than the basin drained by Nicollet Creek, is the true source of the Mississippi.

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a full degree south of Turtle Lake. This places it far out of the Itasca basin and only a very few miles north of the town of Wadena.

74. See Appendix 5.

Many mapmakers, including the Minnesota Department of Highways and the Railroad and Warehouse Commission, have settled the dispute in their own way by effecting an unique compromise without much regard for geographical accuracy. They delinate Hernando de Soto Lake the source of the Mississippi, but show it emptying into Lake Itasca by a plainly marked stream which flows first through Elk Lake!

Regardless of its importance to the science of geography, the controversy over the true source of the river was of great importance to the future of the Itasca area. There had earlier been some sentiment for a state or national park in the pine country of northern Minnesota, but no steps had been taken to crystallize this sentiment. The notoriety attracted to the Itasca region by the "Glazier fiasco" and especially by the studied investigations of J. V. Brower, gave first impetus to locating the park in that particular locality. Says Warren Upham, "During a decade or longer a great strife raged concerning the true head of the Mississippi and the rightful name of Elk Lake. In 1905 Glazier and Brower, chief opponents in the strife, died; but the Itasca State Park, which grew from it, "shall live forever!'"[75]

J. V. Brower, the "father of Itasca Park", is generally given credit as the motive power behind its creation. Becoming intensely interested in the region during the con-

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75. Minnesota Geographic Names, 154

troversy over the source, it was he who made the studies and suggestiond necessary to the project. The earliest printed proposal for the park seems to have been a letter from Alfred J. Hill, a friend and associate of Brower's, which appeared in the St. Paul Dispatch of March 28, 1889. Hill suggested a tract 100 miles square, to include the Kakabikans Rapids as well as the Itasca Basin.[76] A second and more serious suggestion came nearly a year later from the pen of J. A. Wheelock, who was prompted by the rapid advances of lumbermen to make a plea for conservation of the sources of the Mississippi.[77]

This latter was brought to the attention of the Minnesota Historical Society by Mr. Emil Geist, a life member of the group. Inasmuch as the society had already evidenced interest in the region, by sponsoring the Brower survey of 1889, Mr. Geist suggested that the society back the park project.[78] The proposal was ably seconded by Professor N. H. Winchell and by Brower himself. After consideration of the Brower studies and maps, the society decided to prepare a memorial to the state legislature for a park at Lake Itasca. As a result of this memorial Senator John Sanborn, a member of the society, on March 2, 1891, intro-

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76. This gentleman also proffered an unique plan for settling the Glazier dispute. He propsed a statue of Nicollet at his lost "third lake" and one of Glazier at the lake in dispute, to be renamed either "Elkglaz" or "Glazelk".

77. St. Paul Daily Pioneer, January 22, 1890, p. 4

duced Senate File 461, "a bill for an act to establish and create a public park to be known and designated as the Itasca State Park and to authorize the condemnation of lands for park purposes." On the same day he introduced Senate File 459, "a joint resolution requesting the Congress of the United States to grant certain public lands to the state of Minnesota for the perpetual use of a state park." Both measures were referred to the Committee on Judiciary.[79]

Brower states that,"An active canvas was necessary to pass the park bill, through the State Senate without a single vote to spare, on account of factious opposition..."[80] Careful investigation seems to indicate, however, that the opposition was of indifference rather than of design. When the bill came to a vote on April 4, Senator Sanborn was able to rally twenty-eight supporters, exactly the number needed, though he had to accept an amendment limiting the pay of the park commissioner to sixty days per year.

In the House the bill appeared to be doomed to defeat due to lack of time before the close of the session; but in the closing days it was called up out of turn by Thomas R. Foley of Aitkin County. It received only one

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78. (From p. 41) Biennial Report of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1889, p. 57

79. Journal of the Senate, 27th Session, 1891, p. 358

80. Brower, Itasca State Park, 87

adverse vote. Sent to Governor Merrian, the bill received his approval on April 20, 1891; and Itasca State Park became a reality.

At the time of the approval of the park law, however, Itasca State Park was nothing more than a park on paper. The land within the tract of approximately five by seven miles was owned approximately as follows:

Public lands of the United States	6400 acres
Owned by individuals, principally lumbermen	6240 acres
Northern Pacific Railroad Lands	5240 acres
State school lands	1280 acres
State swamp lands	570 acres
Total	19730 acres.

Said the Sunday Pioneer Press, "It is expected that every acre will be secured for park purposes with out cost to the state, and the bill provides for an appropriation of only about $300 for necessary preliminary expense."[81] Thus, without land and without funds for aquisition or maintenance, was born Itasca State Park, attended only by the sanguinary hopes of a few loyal supporters.

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81. April 5, 1891, p. 1

The history of Itasca State Park cannot be completed without telling something of the story of lumbering in Minnesota and in the park area, for pine trees furnished the greatest incentive, as well as the greatest opposition to the establishment and preservation of the park. Such a move was in direct opposition to the lumbering interests which were advancing rapidly upon this lucrative virgin pine region. It marked the first big step in the slowly advancing desire for conservation in place of wanton waste of natural resources. When the park bill was signed approximately one third of the area had already become the property of the lumbermen who contemplated its denudation as soon as facilities would permit.

Minnesota marked the western limit of the white and Norway pine forests with which this country was so generously endowed. The southern and western third of the state was prairie grassland, while the remaining area to the north and east, comprising some 52,000 square miles or approximately 33,000,000 acres, may be called the forest area.[82.] The western border of the area, including narrow strips in the valleys of the Minnesota and Red rivers, the lower Mississippi valley, and a belt stretching northward in the vicinity of Alexandria, Detroit Lakes, and Crookston, comprised the hard-

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82. Brohough, The Pine Lands of Minnesota

wood region. The remaining coniferous or pine region found its southern and western limits approximately in a line running through the towns of Stillwater, St. Cloud, Wadena, and Thief River Falls. This was the lucrative region from the lumberman's standpoint. It has been estimated that the original stand of white and Norway pine in this area was not less than 70,000,000,000 feet board measure. The census of 1880 estimated only 8,170,000,000 feet, but more than four times that amount had already been cut by 1908![83.]

The policy of the state in regards to these great timber resources has been to distribute its wealth in a short period of time. It has done little or nothing until comparatively recent times for the conservation of its timber resources for the use of future generations. With supplies of timber in the lake states apparently inexhaustalbe, there was no thought of check upon their exploitation. The early attitude was expressed well by many of the agricultural settlers, who actually hailed the prairie and forest fire as friends that rendered valuable assistance in clearing the lands. As a result of this policy, only three percent, in round numbers, of the original virgin saw timber remains.[84.]

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83. Brohough, The policy of the state regarding timber lands," Proceedings of the Minnesota Academy of Social Sciences, 2:168-79

84. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Survey Series, No. 1., May 1, 1935.

The pine forests of Minnesota were penetrated from their southern and eastern borders. The first saw mill in Minnesota was the old stone mill at Fort Snelling, built in 1820 and removed to St. Anthony in 1824. It had a capacity of 500 to 1000 board feet a day, the lumber being used for barrack's, officer's homes, etc.[85] Lumbering got under way in the St. Croix valley in the winter of 1836-37 when Joseph R. Brown cut logs at the site of Taylor's Falls. The first commercial sawmill in the state was built in the village of Marine Mills three years later. In 1844 a mill was built at Stillwater which was destined to be the leading lumber town of the St. Croix Valley.[86]

The Falls of St. Anthony, with their abundant natural power, would be expected to prove a great attraction to the lumbermen. Many efforts were made to establish claims to the land abutting the falls. One was successful when Franklin Steele succeeded in placing his claim the day after ratification of the Chippewa treaties of 1837.[87] The potential backers of the mill needed to be first satisfied that timber existed nearby in sufficient quantities

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85. Larson, Agnes M., "The Golden Age of Lumbering in Minnesota", Minnesota Alumni Weekly, 32:427-39.

86. VanKoughnet, "Pioneer Industry in Minnesota", Minnesota Alumni Weekly, 31:475-76.

87. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, 1:228

The industry declined almost as rapidly as it had risen. It took approximately seventy years to clean up most of the pine timber along the Mississippi and its tributaries from Minneapolis to Lake Itasca. It was in 1847 that Dorr and Stanchfield cut the first timber on the Rum River. In 1917 the last drive was brought down to Minneapolis.

The phenomenal growth of the lumber industry in the last half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by the inevitable cry for more land. The demands were satisfied as rapidly as the army surveys and the facilities of the General Land Office could make it possible.

By means of various laws, of which the Homestead Act of 1862, the railroad land grants, and the Indian treaties are the most outstanding, the state and nation threw most of their public domain open to private ownership and development as rapidly as it was called for. Nearly all the land that was valuable for its timber, ore, or water power passed into private hands. Neither public policy nor private interest had helped to make permanent the industries founded on these resources. The remains left by such exploitation has led one writer, while scouting the material value to conservation of such small tracts as Itasca State Park, to remark, "Besides being a pleasure resort, it may serve the useful purpose, however, of showing to future generations what a genuine wild Minnesota pine

tree looks like."[91]

When Minnesota was admitted to the Union and at later dates the national government conferred upon the state atotal of 8,486,000 acres of land. To encourage railroad building it also conferred upon railroad companies, directly or through the agency of the state, some 11,114,000 acres. Land granted through the Homestead Act, Indian allotments, and direct sale to farmers and lumbermen accounted for another thirty million acres.[92]

The tale of how so much of this land came into the hands of lumbermen is a story in itself. Much of it of course was obtained by the regular methods, of purchase, preemption or stumpage purchase. Some of it was obtained by methods, which, though perhaps not strictly illegal, were certainly unethical. And we must admit that some of the means were definitely illegal as well. Lumber companies secured the preemption rights of settlers who entered the timber land with such transfer in view. Indians and other holders of land patents or scrip gave to lumbermen the power of attorney to locate the strips for them. When title to timber could not be obtained, possession might be gotten

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91. Brohough, The Policy of the State Regarding Timber Lands.

92. Minnesota Committee on Land Utilization, Land Utilization in Minnesota.

by securing title to one tract and cutting timber on adjoining lands.[95]

Many were the other ingenious frauds perpetrated by these empire builders. Frequently the state timber estimators were in the employ of the lumber interests, and falsified reports. The Pine Lands Commission of 1893, sponsored by Ignatius Donnelly, found one tract of nine sections on which a stand of 7, 535, 000 feet ahd been reported and 38,767,458 feet had actually been cut.[94] Much green timber was illegally cut under legal contracts to log "dead and down" pine on state lands. Homesteads were often entered on the flimsiest circumstances. A toy house might be built on a stump, and the "settler" report that he had constructed a house "twelve by sixteen", failing to mention that the dimensions were quoted in inches rather than feet. Or he might "stove in" the end of a tumbledown shack and report that there was a "stove in it". The soldier and railroad grants were frequently misused, while the Chippewa scrip fraud has aroused reams of acrimonious comment.[93]

But however the land and timber did go, to be sure it went, and rapidly. As the timber line retreated to the north it carried the industry with it. By 1860 logging

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93. Orfield, Federal Land Grants to the States

94. Ibid.

95. Brohough, The Pine Lands of Minnesota. For a good discussion of Indian scrip see Folwell, A History of Minnesota, v. 4.

operations had extended above Little Falls. The railroad was constructed to Brainerd in 1870 and gradually the roads expanded to Grand Rapids, Detroit Lakes, and other northern points. And in the latter part of the century the sound of the lumberman's axe, the sing of the saw, and the noise of the bull cook's dinner bell could be heard at the very headwaters of the father of waters, the Mississippi.

The government surveys, which preceeded the disposal of public lands, were started in the upper Mississippi timber country by 1860. The surveys of the headwaters, including the park area, were completed by Edwin Hall and his associates in 1875. Within three years pre-empters had entered the region in the interests of lumber operators. The first settler of record was a preemptor named Austin Sigimore, who built a cabin on section twenty-two, settling there on August 22, 1870.[96] Like so many of the early "settlers", Sigimore turned his claim over to the lumbermen and pulled stakes, probably to repeat the performance elswhere. Settlers of this type continued to come for the next several years, so that by 1891 nearly a third of the park land was controlled by lumbermen and nearly as much by railroads.

In 1883 Peter Turnbull and a party of settlers arrived from arrived from Park Rapids to preempt land to

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96. Theodore Wegmann, personal interview.

sell to the lumber companies. None of these settlers remained at the lake, though Turnbull built a cabin near the lake just east of Peace Pipe Springs. In this cabin was born Charley Turnbull, the first white child born at Itasca. Mary Lake and Mary Creek were named by Mr. Turnbull after his wife. In 1885 the family removed to Park Rapids. Other claims cabins included those of William H. Green in the approximate location of Douglas Lodge and D. S. Patterson on the north arm a few rods southeast of the outlet. The latter cabin was used as a headquarters by the Brower party of 1899.[97] From here the party moved to the James Parks cabin in the southeast corner of section twenty-one, just west of Upper Nicollet Lake.[98] A few rods south of the Parks cabin had stood another built by Tom Finney, a relative of the T. S. Finney who later made a timber survey with Brower. He was a preemptor for the Pillsbury interests.[99] There are remains of both of these cabins today, the rotted logs of the Parks cabin standing to a height of two or three feet. Many of these claims were posted with a view to getting pine land on the Northern Pacific indemnity grant, which had been opened by an order of President Cleveland. A federal court

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97. Brower, The Mississippi River, 244

98. Ibid., 273,278.

99. Theodore Wegmann, personal interview.

They came in 1893 and have remained on the original homesteads ever since. Wegmann's original cabin, still in a good state of preservation, is standing near his store across from Ozawindib Museum, while Sauer's cabin is still in use a mile north on the highway.

It was about the same time that these early settlers were making their preemptions that interest in the Itasca was aroused from quite different motives. Science and sentiment again became interested in the headwaters of the Mississippi. The Glazier investigations, with the subsequent more scientific studies by Hopewell Clarke, J. V. Brower and others, stimulated this renewed interest. These factors in combination with a desire to protect the Itasca area from the ravaging lumbermen led to the first suggestions for a state park. When that move culminated successfully, there had been no lumbering within the park boundaries. Not a tree had yielded to the lumberman's axe; and it remained for the friends of the park to protect it further.

The year 1891 saw the formation of Itasca State Park out of the wilderness at the headwaters of the great Mississippi. That year the Reverend Stanley McKay baptized a child in the water of the North Arm. In the same year Professor George B. Aiton of Minneapolis and Grand Rapids visited the park to make botanic observations.[102] The Aiton Pine near Douglas is a living memorial of the visit.

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102. Brower, Itasca State Park, 256.

Governor Merriam's first official act in connection with Itasca State Park was the appointment of J. V. Brower as the park's first commissioner.[103] Brower had been an indefagitable worker in his efforts on behalf of the park, and perhaps had greater knowledge of the area than any other other man. The choice was certainly a wise one. Brower was commissioner for four years. His work during that period and later, until his death in 1905, was tremendous. It is amply discussed in the two volumes on the park which he published.[104]

Acting on Governor Merriam's instructions, Brower almost at once began a detailed topographic and hydrographic study of the park. It was at this time that he came to the definite conclusion that the uttermost head sources of the Mississippi were to be found in the waters of lakes DeSoto and Morrison which drain into Lake Itasca via underground streams and Nicollet Creek.[105] Efforts were also made to obtain the land within the park title to which was in private hands. The lands of the Northern Pacific and the Little Falls and Dakota railroad companies were obtained without much difficulty. Negotiations with the lumber interests were not as successful. These lands were

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103. Brower, Itasca State Park, 89.

104. The Mississippi River and its Source (1893) and Itasca State Park (1904)

105. Brower, Itasca State Park, 93 ff.

held principally by the Pillsbury, Walker, and Weyerhauser interests. No terms for the transfer of title could be agreed upon.[106]

When the Itasca Park was created a memorial was prepared to Congress asking for a grant of the 6400 acres of public domain within the park boundary. Representative J. N. Castle of Stillwater was active in obtaining this grant which was made on August 5, 1892.[107] The grant was accepted a year later by the state legislature. A significant part of this act read, "provided, that the land hereby granted shall revert to the United States, together with all improvements thereon, if at any time it shall cease to be exclusively used for a public park, or if the state shall not pass a law or laws to protect the timber thereon."[108] The law referred to was enacted in 1895, but neither it nor the other clauses of the act of grant of 1892 were conscientiously followed out.[109]

The gesture to accept the government land grant was the only act in behalf of the park made by the 1893 legislature. For when it adjourned on April 18 it left the park without any appropriation, excepting for condemnation of lands under private control.[110] Whatever efforts were

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106. Itasca State Park, 108.

107. Ibid., 101.

108. Ibid., 60.

109. Ibid., 62.

110. Ibid., 127.

made in behalf of the park in its first years, and whatever measure of success was obtained, were the personal contribution of J. V. Brower, the first park commissioner. Serving for the most part without pay and without prospect of reward he was tireless in his efforts. The appelation he has received as a result of his activity, "The Father of Itasca State Park", was justly earned.

In 1894 Brower, William McMullen, and others opened a new wagon road from Itasca Lake to Little Mantrap Lake in order to connect with the road from Park Rapids.[111] Late in the same year a peculiar circumstance led to the discovery of an ancient village site at the headwaters. On October 26 a burrowing gopher unearthed a piece of pottery which was found by Brower. Theis led to an investigation by Brower, an esperienced archaeologist, which led to the discovery of what he determined as a village of prehistoric mound builders. The village extended from the outlet a half mile down the east shore. A year later Brower's friend, Professor T. H. Lewis of the University of Minnesota, came to Itasca in pursuit of archaeological findings. They succeeded in locating some evidences of ancient habitation on Schoolcraft Island and excavated the ten "Lewis Mounds" northeast of the headwaters. Very little material of value was found in these mounds, but they were determined to be

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111. Brower, Itasca State Park, 129.

the work of ancient Siouxan mound builders.[112]

In 1895 Mr. Brower was relieved of his duties as commissioner and Mr. A. A. Whitney appointed in his place. At the same time the commissioner's salary was increased to the sum of $600 per annum, $1000 was granted for the construction of a park house, and the park was made a game refuge.[113] Mr. Whitney's one report reveals that the construction of the park house was the only real advance made during his regime.[114] This park house was a frame structure of fourteen rooms, and contained the first administrating offices of the park. The foundation of the house is still visible on the grounds of the forestry school.

It was at about this same time that commercial logging began in earnest near the park. As has been mentioned, much of the park land was already in the hands of lumbermen, and plans for logging it were already being forwarded. The first logging on the Mississippi above Lake Bemidji was done in 1895 by Sam Martin and a man named Godbout. A year later cutting was done on a branch called the Little Mississippi. This was done by Stidel and Kline of Bemidji during a winter remembered for its exceptionally

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112. Brower, Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi, in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 8:232 ff.

114. Brower, Itasca State Park, 149.

~~114. Tom Mohler, personal interview.~~

113. Brower, Itasca State Park, 62.

deep snow.[115]

The election of John Lind as governor of Minnesota in the closing years of the nineteenth century was a fortunate occurence for the park. It was during Mr. Lind's administration that the Deming bill was passed through the efforts of Mr. P. C. Deming. The bill provided an appropriation of $21,000 for the purchase of land and other park purposes.[116] Lind appointed W. P. Christensen as park commissioner. Christensen straightened the Park Rapids road between the park house and the South Arm, it having formerly gone around by LaSalle Springs. Under Christensen's direction there was an exhaustive survey made of the park's timber resources with Brower and T. S. Finney doing the surveying.[117] The survey was made for the purpose of making land condemnation estimable in order to carry out the ptovisions of the Deming bill. The same year a logging dam was put in the outlet of Squaw Lake by Smith of the Brainerd Lumber Company.[118]

In 1899 Governor Lind made a visit to the park, accompanied by Attorney General Douglass and Judge William

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115. Tom Mohler, personal interview.

116. Brower, Itasca State Park, 64.

117. Ibid., 159 ff.

118. Park Rapids Enterprise, November 17, 1899.

Mitchell. At this time Governor Lind ordered the construction of a saddle trail through the park.[119] The work was done by Brower and a corps of assistants.

Early in 1900 a party of surveyors of the Mississippi River Commission under the direction of A. T. Morrow arrived in the park to make a hydrographic survey.[120] Desides Morrow the party consisted of W. S. Comber, George T. French, and Fred G. Ray. They erected six observation or triangulation towers which were later given to the state. The one at First Base Point near the camp grounds is still standing, while the ninety foot tower at Budd Lake is on the ground. The survey was very exhaustive, and a complete map was prepared showing the hydrography and topography of the region.[121]

Mr. Christensen, in his report for 1900, recommended the purchase of a quarter in the southwest of town 144. The recommendation was carried out on March 14, 1901. This addition the northern tip of Itasca Lake and the outlet within the park limits. Another act of the 1901 legislature was a standing appropriation of $5000 per annum for park purposes. This bill was the work of L. C. Deming and J. H. O'Neil of Park Rapids.[122]

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119. See appendix 4-H.

120. Park Rapids Enterprise, May 25, 1900.

121. Brower, Itasca State Park, 166.

122. Ibid., 182.

In 1901 Governor Lind was succeeded in office by Samuel R. VanSant. Christensen was relieved of his office as park superintendent and John P. Gibbs appointed to succeed him. Shortly thereafter Bonness and Company cut considerable pine timber within the park and on state lands. They were convicted of trespass and paid double for the logs.[123]

Itasca State Park had once been the home of many beaver, but through the industry of trappers and through other causes they had become entirely extinct. It was desired to restock the lakes with these animals, and in 1901 Governor VanSant received an offer of two pair from Canada. He sent the following in a letter to Mr. Gibbs:

> Dear Sir:
>
> I am in receipt of a letter from Thomas W. Gibson, Secretary for Parks at Toronto, Canada. He has generously consented to donate to the State of Minnesota several beavers recently captured. I have thought it advisable that they be placed in Itasca State Park...[124]

Three beaver arrived in August, one having died en route.[125] They were placed on Schoolcraft Island, but soon left and sought their own habitats. A few years later it was estimated that there were 400 or more of these animals in the park.[126]

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123. Brower, Itasca State Park, 190.

124. Park Rapids Enterprise, May 10, 1901.

125. Ibid., August 24, 1901.

126. Ibid., August 22, 1912.

In 1902 a temporary logging dam was put in at the outlet of Itasca Lake by the Brainerd Lumber Company in violation of park law, and logging operations in and near the park began in earnest. Eight million feet of logs were floated on the lake by this company and others in that year. The Walker-Hill Railroad was surveyed from Mallard to Squaw Lake and as far as the west shore of Lake Itasca.[127] This road was later built to the east side of the north shore of Squaw Lake where it was used for four or five years, but it was never continued to Itasca Lake.

On April 18, 1903 the legislature passed a bill supposedly designed to protect the park from lumbering operations. It provided that "the hauling or moving of any logs or timber over or upon lands, the property of the State of Minnesota, or which have been conditionally or otherwise granted to the state by the government of the United States situated within the outer limits of Itasca State Park, or the placing of logs or timber in the Elk Lake, Lake Itasca, or any stream running into or out of either such lakes, situated within the outer limits of said park, without first procuring a license therefor signed by the Governor, the state auditor, and the president of the Minnesota Historical Society, is hereby declared a felony...[128]

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127. Detroit Record, March 19, 1903.

128. Drower, Itasca State Park, 70.

As long a s Alexander Ramsey occupied the last named position there were no licenses signed; but with the administration of John B. Sanborn, the law became practically inoperative. Many such licenses were issued, especially for using Itasca Lake as a log boom. The licenses contained, as a subterfuge, the clause: "Whereas, it appears there is no other practical means of removing timber owned by said company...except by way of Itasca Lake..." [129].

Commissioner Gibbs di d before the expiration of his term, and his daughter was appointed to fill out his term. Mary Gibbs, aided by the game warden, Theodore Wegmann, made valiant attempts to protect the timber. She made several attempts to have the log dam removed, but each time was prevented by court order.[130] This was probably the last real attempt to prevent logging operations within the park.

Theodore Wegmann reported to Brower in 1904 that Itasca Lake was three feet above its normal level and the shores were flooded, killing the trees.[131] There were probably 30,000,000 feet board measure of logs on the lake before the first big drive began. It is estimated that it took three years for the logs to reach the mills at Minneapolis, and probably not more than forty percent of the logs cut ever reached a mill. One old lumberman claims to know where there

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129. Brower, Itasca State Park, 221 ff.

130. Ibid., 207 ff.

131. Ibid., 247.

are more than three million feet of Norway logs which had become jammed in the bend of a river and abandoned. The jam is now so overgrown with grass that it looks like a meadow.[132]

The first jams at the outlet were what is known as "outaway dams". They are constructed cheaply and left in until there is a good head of water behind the dam; the dam is then cut or blasted out and the logs "boomed" down the river. By this method only a few million of logs could be boomed at on time, and it required several booms to drive all the logs that might be on the lake. There were eight or nine drives made from Lake Itasca; four by Wilson and Connor, two by Barnard and Gordon, one by Bonness and Howe, one by the son of Commissioner Gibbs, and one by the Douglas Lumber Company.[133]

Most of the logs boomed on Itasca Lake came from north of the park and from within the south part of the park itself. The southern logs were boomed on Mary Lake or one of the other lakes in Mary Valley. It was impossible to boom them from there to Lake Itasca on the small Mary Creek, so from time to time Mary Creek was bridged lengthwise from Mary Lake to Lake Itasca and used as a log road. Much of the lumber from the south part of the park

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132. Tom Mohler, personal interview.

133. George Wilson, personal interview.

was hauled to Akeley via the spur of the railroad of the Red River Lumber Company.

With the logs on the lake it was necessary to get them to the north end of the lake near near the outlet. When there was a wind this was an easy matter, but a calm presented a problem. This was overcome by the application of horse power. A raft was constructed large enough to carry a small shed for a horse and a capstan or windlass. A cable from the capstan was attached to a stationary object on the shore; the quadruped motive power plodded around the capstan winding up the cable and propelling the raft forward. The logs were of course boomed out behind the raft and were carried with it. Some summers the horse was kept on the raft for the entire season.

During this period most of the good timber in the park was owned directly by the lumbermen. Perhaps the largest holdings were those of the Pine Tree Syndicate, a Weyerhauser subsidiary. Other holdings belonged to Pillsbury, Bonness and Howe of Minneapolis, the Red River Lumber Company of T. B. Walker, the Chisholm Lumber Company and others. Surprisingly enough, though there were lumbering operations in the park for fifteen years, there was comparatively little of the park that was denuded by these operations. There are various explanations for this. Some point out that the timber within the park was not of good

quality and was rather thin in stand. Certainly there had been a disastrous fire in 1894, marks of which are still to be seen on the old trees such as in Preacher's Grove. Others point out the hilly terrain of the area making cutting difficult, but this is probably not a valid explanation for lumbermen faced like conditions elsewhere.

Another explanation is that most of the lumbermen cooperated actively with the park authorities in an effort to save the timber. There is considerable evidence that this spirit was by no means universal. However there did develop a practice of exchanging stumpage rights. That is, the lumber company would cede to the state a particularly desirable stand of timber near a road or scenic point in exchange for stumpage or logging rights to an area of less scenic value.

Though comparatively little of the park land was denuded by loggers, the amount of timber cut was nevertheless considerable. Some of this was cut under conditions that amounted to nothing less than trespass. In 1906 a few of the local news sheets became very much alarmed by this condition and protested strongly. From time to time there arrests made, but so far as is known only one conviction was obtained. This was a case involving the firm of Bonness and Howe, who had a contract to log dead and down timber in section 36, town 145. The evidence showed that 427,000

feet of down logs were paid for; but that 800,000 feet were taken from the section, at least two thirds of which was green. It also appeared that the agent of the company had landed the logs in two piles on the ice of Itasca Lake, only one pile of which was sealed as state owned logs. In 1907 Mr. Joseph Wolfe, the agent of Bonness and Howe, was sent to jail for his participation in the crime.[134.] Abuse of the dead and down law was apparently quite common. It has been estimated by a person in a position to know that in the Mississippi booms which were supposed to be composed of dead logs, at least thirty five percent was green.

Perhaps the greatest amount of logging within the park was done by Connor and Wilson, an independent firm doing contract work for the large concerns, especially Weyerhauser. They built the permanent dam that superseded the old cutaway dam built in 1902 by the Brainerd Lumber Company. Their lumber camps dotted the park, many of them being only temporary however. They had camps of some permanency at Deer Park Lake, Elk Lake, the west shore of Budd Lake, Squaw Lake, the northeast corner of section 20 in the west part of the park and elsewhere. There are faint remains of most of these camps as well as those of a temporary camp on the shore of Lake Itasca just east of Mic-

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134. Park Rapids Enterprise, Feb. 1, 1906, Nov. 28, 1907.

135.
ollet Creek.

In 1904 the state legislature made an appropriation for the construction of a new park house and hotel. By the end of March the contract had been let and construction had begun. The next year there was an appropriation of 6,100 dollars for completion of the building, construction of a barn, and other improvements. The park house was dedicated on the last day of June, 1905 by Governor Johnson. It was named in honor of Attorney General Wallace B. Douglas.[136]

Early in 1907 Senator Lundberg introduced a bill in the state legislature which was to remove the park from the divided authority of the State Attorney General and the Auditor and place it in charge of a state forestry board. It also provided for a $3000 appropriation for firebreaks, tools, etc., and $5000 for the foundation of a forestry school in connection with the University of Minnesota. The measure carried and the change in administration

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135. Most of the information relative to lumbering operations within the park was obtained from such old-time settlers and lumbermen as George "Haywire" Wilson, Tom Mohler, John Korth, Earnest Sauer, Theodore Wegmann, Martin Heinzelmann, and others as well as from the weekly newspapers of Park Rapids, Bemidji, and Walker.

136. Park Rapids Enterprise, April 13, June 15, June 29, 1905.

was made. The forestry school opened in the remodeled old park house with Professors Samuel B. Green and E. G. Cheney in charge. The first class had an enrollment of twelve students. The same year aquisition was made of Walker timber around Douglas Lodge, and work was commenced on a phone line from Park Rapids. The company had been organized by J. H. O'Neil and W. H. B. Smith of Park Rapids.[137]

On June 26, 1907 the Forestry Board held its first session at the park to make plans for the year. Its members included chairman S. M. Owen of Minneapolis, Dr. A. C. Wedge of Albert Lea, M. M. Williams of Little Falls, Thomas J. Davis of Duluth, state fire marshall C. C. Andrews, and Professor Green of the forestry school. They planned reforestation of large areas of the park and purchased timber in private hands.[138] Under the direction of the board the forestry students endeavored to reopen the Lind Saddle Trail which had become obliterated.

Within a year the forestry school had an enrollment of fifty and additional buildings. The forestry board had made a purchase of eleven forty acre tracts of land.[139]

The forestry board made improvements in the park

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138. Park Rapids Enterprise, June 27, 1907.

139. Ibid., May 28, July 16, July 2, Sept. 24, 1908.

137. Ibid., Feb. 14, 21, April 11, June 13, 27, August 1, 1907.

from year to year, including firebreaks, road work, additional cottages around Douglas Lodge, and advertising of the park facilities. In 1913 a bill introduced by Represented Stone appropriated $250,000 for aquisition of the private timber, estimated at 25 million feet by State Forester Cox. The bill also provided for the purchase of a herd of elk.[140] A tract of land one mile square was fenced in for an elk pasture. Eleven of the animals arrived from Jackson's Hole, Wyoming, on April 9, 1914, and a second group of twenty-three was obtained in November from J. J. Hill's farm at Monticello.[141] Many of the elk were killed by wolves that had been fenced in the tract, but the herd prospered after the wolves had been killed. There was also some trouble with the young deer breaking their necks against the fence which they could not see.

The forestry board was so successful in its aquisition of private lands that by 1915 it could report that only 822 acres were not owned by the state.[142] During the winter of 1916-17 more than ten million feet of timber was logged in the immediate vicinity of the park, half of which was boomed on Itasca Lake. But the industry was on the decline as shown by the removal of the Red River Lumber

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140. Park Rapids Enterprise, May 1, 1913

141. Ibid., April 9, November 26, 1914.

142. Ibid., July 15, 1915.

Company spur in 1917. This road, running from a point east of the present park portals on highway 71 to Akeley, had carried more than 500,000,000 feet of logs to the mills.[143] In September of 1919 the last big drive was completed by Connor and Wilson when ten million feet of logs were driven to Bemidji.[144]

In the same year the forestry board recommended an increase in the size of the park by the addition of a two mile strip on the west. The suggestion was acted upon by the legislature; and the board was authorized to purchase this tract, which was entirely cut over, at not to exceed five dollars per acre.[155] This was the third addition made to the original area, a quarter section at the outlet of Itasca Lake having been added in 1901; and a quarter-section wide three mile strip on the east being added in 1903. At present the entire 1919 addition has been aquired by purchase of cession.

The more recent history of Itasca State Park is too well known to require much comment. It has developed under the direction of the Forestry Service and the state park commissioner of the Department of Conversation, latterly in cooperation with the National Park Service, until at the

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143. Akeley Herald Tribune, June 14, 1917.

144. Park Rapids Enterprise, Sept. 18, 1919.

145. Ibid., May 8, 1919.

present time it is one of the outstanding scenic and pleasure resorts in Minnesota, drawing visitors from near and far. The annual Headwaters Pageants, first presented July 13 to 16, 1932 (the centennial of Schoolcraft's visit) attract thousands to each performance. In 1933 three CCC camps, directed by the United States Army and the National Park Service, were established in the park area. Considerable progress has been made in building, camping conveniences, and scenic development since these camps were established.

The park now contains 31,816 acres, including cut-over lands and some of the best virgin pine forest in Minnesota. A state game preserve, it is the home of the beaver, elk, deer , raccoon, and varieties of fish and fowl. Douglas Lodge, run by a concessionaire, has achieved an enviable reputation among the resorts of Minnesota. The recreational facilities are excellent,and the entire area is one of which Minnesota may justly be proud.

FINIS

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

The following excerpts are from the narrative written by Jean Baptiste Perrault in 1830 at the request of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. From Perrault, J. B., "Narrative of the Travels and Adventurers of a Merchant Voyageur", ed. by John Sharpless Fox in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, v. 37, pp. 503-519 (Lansing, 1909)

A. Coming up the St. Louis River with Alexander Kay in 1784, Perrault and part of the company had been left at Prairie Portage while the rest went on ahead.

P. 521 "Near Christmas, being unable to hold out any longer, we resolved to save ourselves, and to go up the riviere aux pins. Although already very weak we set out, with leggings made of blankets, and Descended the riviere des prayrie, which flows into Lac des sables (Sandy Lake).

B. Journey's of Perrault and Harris after the fatal Stabbing of Kay early in 1785.

p. 532 "Having reached camp we started out once more and Camped that night near the riviere aux Chevreuil (Deer River) below paokesgamang. The next day we met Naches with Mitan-aakonce his brother, who Gave us an entire bear which he had killed a little above the falls, and we Camped at The entrance of the prairies, at pointe aux chenes (Oak Point). The next day, we went on, and we camped between the forks of the Lac du cedre rouge (Red Cedar Lake) and the Lac vaseu (Mud

Lake), where we saw Monor Kmanitouwi, who gave us the dried meat of a moose, which we scaffolded with The bear of The evening before, in order to provide food for our descent. The Savages told that the pillagers Had arrived at the Lac de Sangsues (sic) (Leech Lake) where they were preparing to go to mackinac,...

"Setting out the next day, we left the river. We entered the Lake and reached la queu de Loutre (Otter's Tail Point)."

C. An interesting sidelight on the organization of the fur trade is given in the following quotation. In 1789 Perrault and Alexis Reaume were in the employ of Marchesseau out of Mackinac.

p. 565 "We therefore took our Outfit for lac superieur, and we entered the fond du Lac (St. Louis River) to go to the Lac de la Sang-Sue (Leech). Messr. sayer, cadotte baptiste, Cazelai, jos. Reaume, Laviolette, and ourselves, all arranged to occupy Different departments of fond du Lac. We Formed a company, into which Each put his goods at the price of invoice, reserving nothing for himself until the division should be made at the same place where we were at that time,--la butte du Saccocomis, each one receiving so much of the merchandise that should remain, and of the peltries according to a fixed price. In order to determine to whom each Department should fall, we drew lots,--mr. sayer getting the riviere du fond du Lac with the SaSak-

andage Minimok, mr. Leviolet and myself the lac de la sensue (Leech). Mr. Cassolet and Mr. (Alexis) Beaume the riviere aux pins, mr. baptiste Cadotte the Lac rouge (Red Lake), and mr. Jos. Beaume the Lac de la fol on the Sides of Lac sensue toward the lac de la qu eu de Loutre (Otter Tail Lake)."

D. 1794

p. 569 "mr. sayer as soon as navigation opened left for fort William, where the agents of the Company had been Summoned on business, and on his return he divided the Outfits for the different departments. I was assigned to the Lac au cedre rouge with orders to build a fort there. I left fond du Lac the 25th of July 1794 and we Camped at the mouth of grand portage. We made haste, and we Reached the entrance of the riviere de cedre rouge the 15th of August. I had 8 men, my Equipment Comprised 13 pieces of cloth and 20 kegs of spirits. I built the fort. Meanwhile the Savages were arriving with Their wild rice. I traded with the pillagers of Lac de Le sangsues for 100 fawnskins and 18 sacks of Corn, 600 pieces of Whitefish which I took at la pente. I had no opposition there that year; mr. Cadotte entered the same year into a partnership with the company. He passed my fort in September and wintered at Lac Rouge. I let him have 25 fawnskins of wild rice. For mr. Sayer, vincent roy wintered on la Riviere voleuse (Thief River), Bousquet on Lac des sables, mr. Le Brun on the riviere du fond du Lac."

Appendix 2.

In volume one of the Minnesota Historical Society Collections, pp. 342-43, is a version of the letter from William Morrison relative to his claimed visit to Lake Itasca in 1803. It is dated February 17, 1856. It was contained in a letter from Allan Morrison to Alexander Ramsey, in which Allan also lay claim to having to the head of the Mississippi before Schoolcraft. The vital parts of William Morrison's letter read:

"...I left Grand Portage, on the north shore of Lake Superior, now the boundary line between the United States and British Possessions, in the year 1802, and landed at Leech Lake in September or October of the same year. I wintered on one of the streams of the Crow Wing, near its source. Our Indians were Pillagers. In 1803 and 4, I went and wintered at Rice Lake. I passed by Red Cedar Lake, now called Cass Lake, followed up the Mississippi to Cross lake, and then up the Mississippi again to Elk lake, now called Itasca lake, the source of the great River Mississippi.

"I discovered no traces of any white man before me, when I visited Itasca lake, in 1804."

Morrison also states that he revisited Lake Itasca in the winter of 1811-12.

Appendix 3.

For more than a century after Henry Rowe Schoolcraft conferred the name Itasca upon the body of water which he found at the source of the Mississippi River the origin and meaning of that name remained a mystery. Though others of the expedition of 1832 kept journals or wrote accounts of the journey, none of them mentioned the name or gave a hint as to its meaning or origin. Schoolcraft himself, in his voluminous reports, did nothing to clear up the mystery but rather made it more involved by a false explanation in the 1855 revision of his narrative.

Many were the theories advanced as to the name. Some thought that it was of Chippewa origin; some thought it was Siouxan. Mrs. Mary Eastman published the so called "Legend of Itasca" in which it was said that the name came from an Indian princess, daughter of Nanabozho (Hiawatha), who was carried off by the lord of the nether world, Chebiabo. Her tears of sorrow welled up from the earth and created the lake. One of Schoolcraft's publications seemed to confirm this story, while in another he said that the name was composite in character and of Chippewa origin.

About 1872 the reverend William Thurston Boutwell, who had accompanied the expedition, came forth with the now well known explanation that the name had been formed by Schoolcraft from two Latin words indicative of the true head which had been proffered by Boutwell. The two words were

the Latin nouns, "veritas", truth, and "caput", head. The name was formed by striking out the first three letters of the first word and the last three letters of the second. Although this explanation received more credence than any of the others, final proof as to its authenticity was lacking until less than a year ago. Since that time letters have been found by an Iowa professor which absolutely confirm the ver/itas ca/put--Itasca explanation. The letters were written by Schoolcraft himself. On his return from the head of the Mississippi he arrived at Fort Snelling on July 24, 1832. On the following day he wrote a letter to his friend, Dr. Addison Philleo, editor of a Galena, Illinois, newspaper. This letter was printed in the August 22 Galenian and was reprinted with some variations in the Niles Register, 43:227, December 1, 1832.

The most interesting and vital parts of these two versions follow. (Petersen, William J., "Veritas Caput: Itasca", in Minnesota History, 18:2:180, June, 1937.)

The Galenian version:

"The Mississippi (1) expands into several lakes, the largest of which is called lac Traverse (Bemidji). A few miles above this it forms a south west and north west branch. We ascended the latter, through a (n)umber of lakes to its source in a small creek. From thence we made a portage of 6 miles, with our canoes, into la Biche or Itasca lake (from a derivation of the expression veritas caput) which is the true source of this celebrated stream, being at the same time, its most western and northern head. (2) This lake is about 7 miles long, having somewhat the shape of a letter V. It has clear water and pleasant woody shores. It has a single island, upon which I landed, caused some trees to be felled, and hoisted the national flag. I left this flag flying, and pro-

ceeded down the N. W. or main fork. A descent of about 100 miles brought us back to our party at Red Cedar, a Cape lake. (3)

Very respectfully, dear sir,
Your friend & obed't serv't
H. R. Schoolcraft, I. A.

The letter as reprinted in the Niles Register had the following varations:

(1) Following the word "Mississippi", the phrase "above this point" appears.

(2) The two preceding sentences very considerably:-

"We ascended the former, through a number of lakes, to its source, in a small creek; being an inlet into a lake. From thence we made a portage of six miles, with our canoes, into La Biche or Ibasca (sic) lake,---(the latter being a derivative from veritas caput), which is the true source of this celebrated stream, being at the same time its most northern head."

(3) Changed to "or Cass Lake."

Appendix 4. Trails and Portages

A. William Morrison

The only evidence in support of William Morrison's claim to having been at Lake Itasca in 1803 and again in 1811 is his own letter, previously quoted (appendix 2.). Since he therein makes no mention of his exact route to the lake, it is impossible to more than conjecture at the trail he used. Brower reports that an old cellar on the banks of the Mississippi six miles below Itasca Lake is thought to be the site of the house where fur traders, in Morrison's time, turned westward from the river to traverse the country to the Red River. (Itasca State Park, 252)

Different persons have claimed to have located a Morrison post at Morrison Hill or at Schoolcraft Island, but these reports are unsubstantiated. Maps by J. V. Brower in Itasca State Park and Lind Saddle Trail show a route on the east bank which Morrison is presumed to have followed when he visited Itasca Lake. This would be a logical conclusion to draw; but it may or may not be true.

B. Schoolcraft and Nicollet

The Schoolcraft party ascended the Mississippi to a point a short distance above Lake Irving. Here they found the river to fork into an eastern and a western branch. They took the smaller of eastern branch, because they had been informed by their Indian guide that they could reach Lake Itasca a day sooner by this shorter route. Schoolcraft called

this stream the Plantagenean fork of the Mississippi and the principal lake through it passes Lake Plantagenet. The stream is now commonly called Schoolcraft River, though the large lake retains its old name. Two days later, on the morning of July 13, the party reached a small lake on the western branch of this stream. The various journals of the expedition differ but little in their accounts of this portion of the journey.

Schoolcraft reports that they ascended a short distance up the south inlet of this "Lake Ossowa" and began a southwesterly portage estimated to be six miles in length. It was a very poor trail over rough country. They canoed across one small lake, and observed remains of an Indian camp fire. "...we followed our guides down the slopes of the sides of the last elevation, with the expectation of momentarily reaching the goal of our journey. What had been long sought, at last appeared suddenly. On turning out of a thicket, into a small weedy opening, the cheering sight of a transparent body of water burst upon our view." The accompanying map shows this point to have been not more than one fourth mile north of the south end of the east arm on the east bank. (Narrative of an Expedition, 47-61; map facing p. 56.)

The account given by Lieutenant Allen is very similar: "July 13.-We ascended the river in our canoes ten miles farther to a little lake, (Usaw-way or Perch lake)...

we left it (the river); seeing we had now traced this smaller branch of the Mississippi into the very swamps and meadows, from the drainage of which it takes its rise. From here we set off over land, in a southwest direction, to reach Lac La Biche, represented as the source of the larger branch... In this way we made a portage of six miles in four hours, and struck the lake, the object of our search, near the end of its southeastern bay..." (Expedition to Northwest Indians, 43-44.)

The small lake referred to as Ossowa or Usaw-way or Perch is undoubtedly Lake Alice on the west of the Schoolcraft River, east and slightly north of Lake Itasca. After coming upon the lake somewhere in the general location of Schoolcraft Hill, the party canoed to Schoolcraft Island where they remained a couple of hours. They descended by the main channel of the river, and camped that night some thirty miles below Lake Itasca.

When Joseph N. Nicollet visited the lake in 1836, he proceeded up the Kabekona from Leech Lake and reached Lake Itasca in the following manner: "From the sources of the Kabekonang, (sometimes shortly called Kabekona,) we made a portage of five miles, that brought us to the river La Place, which we ascended as far as one mile south of Assowa Lake, where we found a circular camp used four years previously by Mr. Schoolcraft... The next morning we were up at half-

past four, preparing for a portage of about six miles, which was before us, and was to bring us to Itasca Lake... I measured the elevation of the most prominent ridges. The last in the series, being also the highest, is 120 feet above the waters of Lake Itasca. This ridge, with a rapid descent, led us to the borders of the lake, where I took a barometrical observation at noon." (Report, 56-57) Nicollet's river [illegible]a Place is the same as Schoolcraft's Plantagenean fork and the modern Schoolcraft [illegible]iver. His Assowa [illegible]ake is the same as Lake Alice. He probably reached Lake Itasca at approximately the same spot as did Schoolcraft.

C. Lerman and Bungo

The visits of Charles [illegible]erman and William Bungo to Lake [illegible]tasca are wholly unverified, save by their own reports. Neither of them mentions the route he used.

D. Chambers and Gilfillan

During the Glazier controversy, J. V. Brower wrote to Julius Chambers and to Reverend J. A. Gilfillan in hopes of confirming their visits to [illegible]lk Lake previous to the Glazier visit. He sent to each of them a map of the region, with the request that they mark on it their trail with red ink. He received a reply from Gilfillan on November 15, 1895 and from Chambers on February 8, 1896.

The maps revealed that in 1872 Chambers had made his camp on the west bank of the Mississippi about one

eighth mile below Lake Itasca. He proceeded thence to Floating Bog Bay, to the east arm, to Mary Creek, to Turnbull Point, to Schoolcraft Island, to Ozawindib Point, to the mouth of Chambers Creek, through said creek to Elk Lake, across said lake to the mouth of Elk Creek, up Elk Creek and return, to Chambers Bay, to Clarke Pool, to the east shore of Elk Lake, through Chambers Creek into Lake Itasca, to Nicollet's Infant Mississippi, back to Schoolcraft Island, and down the Mississippi via the outlet of Itasca Lake.

Gilfillan came to Itasca Lake overland from the south. He crossed the Itasca moraine west of Hernando de Soto Lake, passed west of Whipple Lake which he named after Bishop Whipple, crossed its outlet, went to the west shore of Elk Lake, and thence to Morrison Hill. Here he preached the first sermon at the headwaters of the Mississippi, using as his text, "Then had thy peace been as the river." One of the old Brower signs, memorializing this event, is still nailed to a tree on Morrison Hill, and is still readable. (see Brower, "Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River" in Minnesota Historical Collections, 8:232)

E. The Hall Survey of 1875

In 1875 a contract for the official survey of townships 142, 143, and 144, range 36, was let to Edwin S. Hall. According to the field book of the survey, found in the office of the state treasurer in the Minnesota State

Capitol, the party consisted of Mr. Hall as surveyor, John C. Teller and Sidney Wolaver as chainmen, Edwin Teller as axeman, and Julius Bono as flagman. From Brainerd the surveying party proceeded overland with their ox teams to Shell Prairie. From there a northerly direction was pursued until Stony Ridge and the Little Nantrup Lake were reached. There was commenced the construction of a rough road to the northwest, coming into the Itasca Basin at the southeast side of De Soto Lake. The first permanent camp was made on the shore of this lake on the northeast side opposite the island. Here was blazed a tree on which was inscribed: "Ed Hall's Lost Explorers. Location. Ed. Hall's Camp. October 4th, 1871." This tree is still standing near the road that runs past De Soto cabin, and much of the scribing is still plain and readable. On the same tree is inscribed: "J. V. Brower, 1880, Camp."

After leaving this camp, the road was pushed northward into the center of section 27, where "Spring Brook" was named by a scribing on the bank. The road was continued due north until Morrison Hill was reached, from which point the remainder of the survey was conducted.

The Hall survey may have been prompted by, and was no doubt an aid to, the desire of the lumber interests to locate valuable tracts of timber. Within five years after the survey the entire region had been cruised by timber examiners. The Hall road was later more extensively opened by Henry Bohall and later C. Mooney, and was erroneously called

"Sweeney Bond". (see Brower, The Mississippi River and its Source, 174-178.)

P. Siegfried and Garrison

A. M. Siegfried of the Louisville Courier Journal visited the Itasca region in 1879, accompanied by J. H. Barnes and Lucien Sulsin. They went by rail to Detroit Lakes and thence to White Earth. They were guided to a point on the Mississippi several miles below Itasca Lake, which they reached on July 12, camping on Schoolcraft Island. On examining the shores of Itasca Lake they did not find Chambers Creek, but crossed the hills west of Morrison Hill to Elk Lake. This they thought to be the source of the Mississippi. They returned down the river in their three canoes.

The tenth census of the United States, in 1880, sent O. E. Garrison of St. Cloud to Itasca to take a tree census for the department of forestry. Becoming lost in the bays of the Little Mantrap Lake, he spent thirteen days in reaching the Itasca basin. From the lakes at the top of the hills his path took him to Whipple Lake, to the west shore of Elk Lake, and thence to Morrison Hill. At the outlet of Whipple Lake he noticed a beaver dam across a running stream of water into Floating Moss Lake. This dam remains today but it no longer holds water. From Morrison Hill Garrison went onto Itasca Lake and spent a day examining the trees along its shores. He then proceeded northward down the Mississippi. (see Brower, The Mississippi River and its Source, 178-180.)

C. The Turnbull and Park Rapids Roads

As previously mentioned, the Itasca region had been cruised by timber estimators prior to 1880. The following decade saw an influx of settlers who made claims which they sold to the lumber interests as soon as it was profitable. One such settler was Peter Turnbull, who made the first actual permanent settlement at Itasca Lake in September, 1883. His cabin was built a short distance north of Schoolcraft Hall on the east shore of the lake. To facilitate communication with the communities to the south, he and others constructed the "Turnbull Road", which led from Stony Ridge at the old Hall road to the shore of the lake through Mary Valley. It first reached Iron Corner Lake and descended into the valley just north of Josephine Lake.

In 1884 the county commissioners of Hubbard County opened a road from Park Rapids to Itasca Park which in part followed the Turnbull road. This road reached the south end of the east arm of the lake and then proceeded to the north end via a circuitous route which took in La Salle Springs. Commissioner Christenson changed this part of the road so it would follow the shore of the lake from the old park house to the south end of the lake.

D. The Lind Saddle Trail

In August, 1891, Governor John Lind and Attorney General Douglas visited Itasca accompanied by Judge William Mitchell and J. V. Brower. Their purpose was to examine the

park preparatory to expending the $21,000 appropriation provided by the Loring Bill. Brower gives a description of an incident on this trip which led to the establishment of the Lind Saddle Trail.

> Governor Lind and myself had alone penetrated to the littlest Nicollet at the outlet of Whipple Lake, when on endeavoring to reach the remote trail east of there through the dense and almost impenetrable thickets, the Governor discovered an immense white pine not far from where we had lunched on the moss, on Gen Douglas' bottle of milk, by mistake, and our own bread. The old white pine tree seemed bent with age and a corkscrew curve half way up its trunk, gave evidence of the effects of an ancient cyclone. The name "Lind" is cut on the bark of this tree and it has been called, by the Governor, the Ramsey Pine...
>
> Note. (This adventure was the foundation for the construction of the Lind Saddle Trail, its prime cause as a convenient necessity.)
>
> At this point I was charged with the duty of opening a trail around the park in order to facilitate the examination of and visits to interesting portions of the state park not conveniently accessible on account of the dense forests and the denser foliage. The instructions of the Governor were to expend one hundred dollars which was to have been allowed from the executive funds...

The trail was constructed in that year by Brower assisted by N. Christenson, F. Glenn, James Lashbrook, and Samuel Mc Mullen. It was actually paid for by Governor Lind himself.

As originally laid out, the trail was nineteen miles long. It started at the Mc.Mullen homestead at the north end of Itasca Lake and took in Mary Lake, Bald Lake, Gilfillan Lake, De Soto Lake, Whipple Lake, the Nicollet Lakes, Morrison Hill, etc. In March of the next year the

trail was cleared, straightened, and widened. It was also lengthened to include Morrison Lake and the Ramsey Pine. It was then measured, mile posted, placarded, and planted with alsike and grass seed. As reconstructed the trail was as follows: It started at the point where the old Park Rapids road crossed the section line between section 18, town 142, Hubbard County, and section 13, town 142, Cass and Wadena County (New Shearwater County). This was called Station 0 by Brower, and the post marking the spot, which he erected, is still standing and readable just to the east side of the new cut-off on highway 87 near the south end of the lake. From Station 0 the trail went to Douglas Heights, a distance of one mile. It went thence to near Aiton Heights, thence to near Elk Lake, thence to the west side of that lake, thence to above Nicollet's Upper Lake, thence to Whipple Lake, thence to near Little Elk Lake, thence to Fernando de Soto Lake, thence to Leshbrook Lake, thence to near Gilfillan Lake, thence to the government flag at Bull Lake, thence to a roadside station south of Mary Lake, thence to a crossing of Mary Creek, and thence back to station 0. The distance between the above points was one mile, excepting the last which was 2015 feet. The trail was mile posted at these points, the total length of the trail being thirteen miles and 2015 feet.

The Lind Saddle Trail has gone through a great many revisions since its first establishment. By 1907 the trail had become entirely obliterated so that the forestry

board was obliged to resurvey it and reopen it to the public. This was done several times later, but today there is only a part of the original trail that is recognizable as such, and much of it now goes by different names.

I. Later Trails

Since the advent of organized control of Itasca State Park, various automobile, saddle, and foot trails have been opened by different agencies including the Forestry Board, the several park commissioners, the Forest Service, the Boy Scouts of America, and the National Park Service. These trails include the Two Spot Trail, Middle West Trail, Bohall Trail, Eagle Scout Trail, South Shore Trail, Deer Park Trail, etc. The Park Drive, a seventeen mile auto drive, was opened in 1906, and the Eagle Scout Trail was constructed in 1930 by a group of Boy Scouts.

Many of these trails follow old lumbering trails of former established trails. The Eagle Scout Trail, for example, is for the most part identical with the Bird Saddle Trail, whose name it has replaced. The only part of the Bird Trail which clearly retains its old identity and name is now an auto road from Douglas Lodge to the west side of Elk Lake. Most of these trails are overgrown and hard to follow, consequently they are little used by tourists.

Spring Ridge Creek--from Spring Ridge to Lower Nicollet Lake--named by Brower.

Squaw Lake--in the northwest corner--named McMullenLake by Brower for William McMullen. Changed to Squaw Lake on the charts of the Mississippi River Commission survey.

Tamarack Lake--south of Squaw Lake--of undetermined origin.

Tamarack Point--one fourth mile south fo Osawindib Point. Named by the Mississippi River Commission survey for the trees.

Triplett Lakes--between Morrison and Whipple lakes--named by Brower for their appearance.

Turnbull Point--the dominant point on the west shore of the East Arm--named for Peter Turnbull by Brower.

TwinLakes--there are two sets of these, on the Lakes Trail and south of Squaw Lake--both named for their appearance of united waters.

Whipple Lake--north of Morrison Lake--named by Reverend J. A. Gilfillan for Bishop Henry B. Whipple.

Note: The above list is quite complete as to original nomenclature, but some of the places named may be impossible to find now. Many of the very small lakes in existance in 1900, for example, are now entirely dry.

Nicollet Springs--between the Middle and Upper lakes--named by Brower.

Nicollet Valley--the valley drained by Nicollet Creek--named by Brower.

Niemada Lake--southwest of the intersection of the Lakes Trail and Highway 71--of undetermined origin. Brower says it is composite in form and not of Indian origin.

North, East, and West Arms of Lake Itasca--named by Brower from their geographic position.

Oceano Springs--see La Salle Springs.

Ockerson Heights--close west of Deming Lake--named for J. A. Ockerson, a surveyor of the Mississippi River Commission.

O'Neil Point--northwest of Comber Point on the west shore of the East Arm--named in honor of John H. O'Neil of Park Rapids, a friend of the park.

Ozawindib Point--on the east side of the entrance of the West Arm--named by Brower for Schoolcraft's guide.

Pickard Lakes--northeast of De Soto Lake--named by I. V. D. Heard for Anthony Auguelle, called the Pickard du Gay, a companion of Hennepin's.

Powder Horn Lake--south of Augusta Lake--named for its shape by the Mississippi River Commission survey.

Mississippi River--Ojibway name meaning "the great river". The first part of the word is akin to the more modern Kitchie, great, or Gitche, as it is spelled by Longfellow. The second part, variously spelled sippi, sipi, sebe, or zibi, is the common Algonquian name for a river. Some have claimed that the name really means "river of grass".

Mississippi Springs--northwest of Floating Moss Lake--named by Brower.

Morrison Hill--between Elk and Itasca lakes west of Chambers Creek--named by Brower for William Morrison.-

Morrison Lake--northwest of De Soto Lake--named by Borwer for William Morrison.

Morrow Heights--named for A. T. Morrow, director of the Mississippi River Commission survey of 1900.

Musquash Lake--south of Morrison Lake--named by the Mississippi River Commission survey. It is the Algonquian name for the muskrat.

Myrtle Lake--west of Squaw Lake--name of undetermined origin.

Nicollet Creek--flowing into the West Arm west of Chambers Creek--named by Brower for J. N. Nicollet who discovered it in 1836. It was called the "infant Mississippi" by Nicollet.

Nicollet's Lower, Middle, and Upper Lakes--south of the West Arm on Nicollet Creek--named by Brower.

on the 1888 explorations.

Lesser Ultimate Reservoir Bowl--the watershed including Mary Valley--named by Brower.

Lewis Mounds--the Indian mounds at the headwaters--named by Brower in honor of Professor H. T. Lewis who was interested in their excavation.

Lind Saddle Trail--named in honor of Governor John Lind who visited the park in 1899 and paid for the trail.

McKay Lake--south of Clarke Lake--named by Brower after Reverend Stanley McKay, who celebrated the first known baptismal rites in the waters of the North Arm, 1891.

Mary Creek--flowing into the East Arm--named after Mrs. Mary Turnbull.

Mary Lake--south of the East Arm--named by Peter Turnbull for his wife.

Mary Valley--the valley encompassing Josephine and Mary lakes--named by Brower.

Mikonna Lake--north of De Soto Lake--named by A. J. Hill and of undetermined meaning. Now commonly misspelled as McKenna.

Midway Reservoir--the watershed around Clarke Lake--named by Brower.

Josephine Lake--the southernmost lake on the Lakes Trail--named by Brower in honor of his daughter.

Kirk Lake--west of Morrison Lake--named for Thomas H. Kirk, author of an Illustrated History of Minnesota.

La Salle Creek--flowing north in the northeast corner of the park--named by Willard Glazier after the Sieur de la Salle. It was called "Andrus Creek" by Brower in honor of the treasurer of the Minnesota Game and Fish Commission. Schoolcraft had named it "Cano River" and "DeWitt Clinton River" on his maps and "Chemaun or Ocano" in the text of his Summary Narrative. The former word is Ojibway for a birch canoe, as used by Longfellow in The Song of Hiawatha. The latter is from the French "aux canots", meaning at or of the canoes.

La Salle Spring--at the source of La Salle Creek.

Lashbrook Lake--west of Gilfillan Lake--named for Mr. J. J. Lashbrook.

Little Elk Lake--east of Morrison Lake--named by Brower.

Little Mantrap Lake--south boundary west of Highway 71--named for its numerous bays which confused the hunters and timber cruisers.

Lyendecker Lake--west of the south end of the East Arm--named by Brower after John Lyendecker, a companion

steader who built a claims cabin on its shores.

French Creek--between Island Creek and Hill Point--named after George H. French of the Mississippi River Commission survey.

Garrison Point--on the west shore of the West Arm--named by Brower after O. E. Garrison.

Gay-gwed-o-say Creek--flowing into Elk Lake south of Elk Springs--named by Brower after Nicollet's Indian guide. The correct spelling is Kegwedzissag, but Nicollet always spelled it the other way.

Gilfillan Lake--west of Iron Corner--named by Brower after Reverend J. A. Gilfillan.

Greater Ultimate Reservoir Bowl--the watershed drained by Nicollet Creek--named by Brower.

Green Lake--close west of Chaney Bay--named by the Mississippi River Commission survey.

Groseilliers Lake--east of Whipple Lake--named after one of the first white men in Minnesota, by Brower.

Hall Lake--southeast of Elk Lake--named by Brower after Edwin S. Hall.

Hays Lake--west of Lower Nicollet Lake--named after E. Hays of the Brower survey of 1891.

the Ojibway; translated as "the water which juts off from another water" as a thumb from a hand. It is the same name that is commonly written "Pokegama". It was named "Dolly Varden" by Chambers in 1872 and "Lake Brook" by Gilfillan in 1881 and "Lake Glazier" by Glazier in the same year. The name "Elk Lake" was applied to it in 1876 when the surveyor general, James H. Baker, transferred the name to the plats of the official survey conducted by Edwin S. Hall. This was retaining the name formerly applied, by Indians and early traders, to Lake Itasca.

Elk Creek--flowing into the southwest angle of Elk Lake--named by Brower.

Elk Pool--on Elk Creek--named by Brower.

Elk Springs--on the northwest shore of Elk Lake--named by Brower.

First Base Point--south of Floating Bog Bay--named after the first base of the Mississippi River Commission survey.

Floating Bog Bay--east of Bear Paw Point--named by Brower's party of 1888 after its peculiar surface.

Floating Bog Creek--flowing into the bay--by Brower.

Floating Moss Lake--north of Whipple Lake--named by Brower from the floating moss bed on the surface of the water.

Frazier Lake--on the south boundary--named after a home-

Comber Point and Bay--north of Turnbull Point--named by Brower after W. G. Comber of the Mississippi River Commissioner survey of 1900.

Comber Island--in Morrison Lake--named by Brower after W. G. Comber.

Crescent Springs--northwest of Garrison Point--named by Brower after the shape of the formation.

Danger Lake--see Deming Lake.

Dead Beaver Lake--south of the greater Twin Lakes in section 19--name of undetermined origin.

Demaray Creek--flowing into Nicollet Creek from the west--named by Brower after Mrs. Georgiana Demaray, daughter of William Morrison.

Deming Lake--on the Lakes Trail south of Mary Lake--named "Danger Lake" by Peter Turnbull because of water on the ice. Renamed by Brower in honor of Hon. Portius C. Deming of Minneapolis, a friend of the park and author of the Deming Bill. It is now commonly misspelled with two m's.

Division Creek--flowing into the Mississippi just north of Lake Itasca--named by Brower after its origin in the divide between the Hudson's Bay and Gulf of Mexico watersheds. Also called Sucker Creek.

Elk Lake--originally called "Pekegumag sagaiigun" by

Boutwell Creek--flowing into the west side of the West Arm--named after the Reverend W. T. Boutwell of the Schoolcraft expedition, by Brower.

Brower Island--in De Soto Lake--named by a committee of the Minnesota Historical Society after J. V. Brower.

Brower Ridge--on Lind Saddle Trail east of the Nicollet Lakes--named by Dr. Elliott Coues in honor of J. V. Brower.

Budd Lake--west of Ako Lake--named by Brower after "an Ohio family name".

Clarke Lake--southwest of Mary Lake in section 26--named by A. J. Hill after Hopewell Clarke.

Clarke Creek--flowing into Chambers Bay of Elk Lake--named by Brower after Hopewell Clarke.

Clarke Pool--on the course of Clarke Creek--named by Brower.

Chambers Bay--south end of Elk Lake--named by Brower after Julius Chambers.

Chambers Creek--connecting Elk and Itasca lakes--named by Brower after Julius Chambers.

Chaney Point and Bay--south of Turnbull Point on the west shore of the East Arm--named by Brower after Josiah B. Chaney, newspaper librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, who visited the park in 1901 and 1903.

Appendix G. Nomenclature

The following names with their meanings and origins have been taken largely from Brower, Itasca State Park, and Warren Upham, Minnesota Geographic Names.

Aiton Heights--west of Mary Lake--named by Brower after Professor George B. Aiton of Minneapolis and later of Grand Rapids, Minnesota, who made botanic investigations in the park in 1891. There is a tree near Douglas Lodge which bears a scribing left by Aiton.

Ako Lake--on the Lakes Trail in Mary Valley--named by Hon. I. V. D. Heard after a companion of Father Hennepin, whose name is correctly spelled Accault. This lake is now misnamed "Arco" or Arko".

Allen Lake--southeast of Aiton Heights--named by Brower after Lieutenant James A. Allen of the Schoolcraft expedition.

Andrus Creek--see La Salle Creek

Augusta Lake--west of Morrison Lake--named by the Mississippi River Commission survey of 1900.

Bear Paw Point--east shore of Itasca Lake southwest of the Forestry School--named by Peter Turnbull, the first white settler, in 1865. Formerly called Bear Point.

Bohall Lake--west of Itasca Lake in sections 9 and 16--named by Brower after Henry Bohall, an assistant on the Brower survey of 1889.

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